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# NATIONAL REVIEW

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larch 28, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION


## *Trading with the Enemy*

L. BRENT BOZELL

## *A Limit on Income Tax*

FRANK E. PACKARD

## *The Middle East: Balkans of the World*

JULIAN AMORY, M.P.

*Articles and Reviews by* . . . . . FRANK S. MEYER

REVILO OLIVER · WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR. · FREDA UTLEY

ALOISE HEATH · RICHARD M. WEAVER · JAMES BURNHAM

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# *from* WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

New Hampshire and Nixon

The New Hampshire primary dramatically emphasized the popularity of Vice President Nixon, thereby giving him the first break since Ike declined to name him as a preferred running mate. Polling more than 22,000 votes on a write-in ballot—about the same total as that of the Democratic winner, Estes Kefauver—Nixon emerged far stronger than any potential opponent. Governor Christian Herter of Massachusetts, frequently mentioned as the favorite son of the White House regency, received 2,000 votes. Kefauver's surprising six-to-one score over Stevenson was discounted to some degree by the fact that Stevenson had not campaigned in the state, but provided a good starting edge for the Tennessean.

GOP Hopeful in Northwest

While the odds are still in favor of the Democrats holding Senate control in the November election, Republican chances have improved with the entrance of Secretary McKay (Oregon) and Governor Langlie (Washington) into the Republican primaries. (McKay faces a contest with Phillip S. Hitchcock, religious director of Lewis and Clark College at Portland.) Despite Senator Morse's avowed enthusiasm for McKay as an opponent, objective opinion rates the Republican at even money, with Ike heading the national ticket. (Eisenhower carried Oregon by 150,000 and Washington by 107,000 in 1952. GOP Senator Cordon lost to Neuberger in '54 by less than 2,500 votes.) The battle in Washington is also expected to be close. Democratic Senator Magnuson is a tough adversary, but Langlie, who was elected and reelected to the Washington State governorship, has a formidable record as a vote-getter.

Texas Challenge

J. Evetts Haley, rancher of Haley, Texas, will challenge Senator Price Daniel in the Democratic primary, if the latter decides to resign from the Senate to run for Governor. Mr. Haley is a well-known writer as well as a stock-rancher and is one of the three executive committeemen of For America.

The Manion Plan

Clarence E. Manion, co-chairman of For America and former dean of the Notre Dame Law School, reports progress in a drive to get slates of unpledged electors on the ballots in the November elections. Objective: to elect enough independent electors so that neither the Republican nor Democratic candidate would have a majority in the electoral college (266) and the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives.

GOP Leads in Funds

Contributions to the two political parties in January and February gave the Republicans a dollar advantage of nearly thirteen to one. The three GOP committees, National, Senatorial and Congressional, collected $1,830,373, while their Democratic counterparts totaled only $141,588. The "Salute to Eisenhower" dinners accounted for a large percentage of the Republican donations.

Praise from Neuberger is . . . ?

Senator Lyndon Johnson, whose recent boom for the Democratic Presidential nomination was detonated by Senator Russell and Speaker Rayburn, did not sign the Southern manifesto against integration. His Southern colleagues refrained from asking his signature on the theory that it would jeopardize his effectiveness as Majority Leader. Some legislators took the position that Johnson's failure to sign canceled any chance he might have had for the nomination. Senator Neuberger, however, praised the Texan's "political valor."

Lobby Investigation

The eight-man Senate Select Committee to investigate lobbying, under the Chairmanship of Democratic Senator McClellan, expects to hold first hearings in April. Equally divided between Democrats and Republicans and equipped with a new set of rules which give neither party an overriding authority, the Committee is expected to have difficulty avoiding further deadlocks when the investigation and the political campaigns become more intensive.



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# NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

EDITOR and PUBLISHER: Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

EDITORS

James Burnham Willmoore Kendall
Suzanne La Follette
Jonathan Mitchell William S. Schlamm

PRODUCTION EDITOR: Mabel Wood

ASST.. PRODUCTION EDITOR: Adrienne Suddard

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT: Sam M. Jones

ASSOCIATES and CONTRIBUTORS

L. Brent Bozell, John C. Caldwell, Frank Chodorov, John Abbot Clark, Forrest Davis, Max Eastman, Medford Evans, Karl Hess, Frank S. Meyer, Gerhart Niemeyer, E. Merrill Root, Morrie Ryskind, Freda Utley, Richard M. Weaver

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS

*London*: F. A. Voigt *Paris*: Eudocio Ravines
*Geneva*: Wilhelm Roepke *Madrid*: J. Dervin
*Munich*: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn

BUSINESS MANAGER: Arthur W. D. Harris

ADVERTISING MANAGER: Theodore A. Driscoll


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EDITORIAL AND SUBSCRIPTION OFFICES:
211 East 37 St.
New York 16, N.Y.
Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-0941

RATES. Twenty cents a copy, $7.00 a year, $13.00 for two years. Foreign, $9.00 a year; Canada, $8.00 a year.



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# *The WEEK*

**Richard Nixon, of course,** is the big winner in the New Hampshire primary. He did not campaign in New Hampshire; his name was not even on the ballot. But more than 22,000 Republicans took the trouble to write in his name as their choice for Eisenhower's running-mate. They gave him nine times as many votes as Governor Herter of Massachusetts, whose popularity is even now being tested by Liberal Republicans as a possible replacement for Nixon. In itself, New Hampshire will carry little weight at the Convention. But the pro-Nixon flood there will, perhaps, drown out the rumor that the Vice President has little grass-roots support.

**Secretary of State Dulles** turned in a sound performance at the SEATO Conference in Karachi, as we noted in our last issue. On the critical problems of Kashmir and Pushtunistan, he stood firmly and with justice on the side of Pakistan, thereby upholding a friendship that promises much of value to both Pakistan and ourselves. But two days later, in New Delhi, Mr. Dulles unravelled his threads. He announced that the United States would help defend India if Pakistan attacked. This intervention was really fantastic. No one, outside of a few Indian demagogues, suggests that Pakistan, with a fifth of the population and a tenth of the resources, is going to attack India; and in any case Mr. Dulles had no authority to commit the United States to India's defense. The principal lasting effect of Mr. Dulles' remark will be to suggest to the Pakistani that Washington's representatives say whatever pops into their heads.

**The internal situation in Indonesia** develops, unfortunately, along the lines that NATIONAL REVIEW has consistently predicted. President Sukarno, an old hand at coexistence, has asked Ali Sastroamidjojo to form a government based on the new Parliament, elected many months ago but not until now fully certified. Sastroamidjojo plans to govern through a majority that will be a full-fledged Popular Front—a bloc of the Nationalist Party, the Orthodox Teachers Party, and the Communist Party. The pro-Western Masjumi Party will be excluded. In reward for this smashing political blow against us, Mr. Dulles, during his visit to Jakarta, invited President Sukarno to visit Washington, where he will doubtless be praised as fulsomely as President Gronchi of Italy, who—we



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have *not* been reminded by our alert press—also holds office by virtue of a Popular Front vote.

**That Douglas McKay has decided to run against** Wayne Morse in the Oregon senatorial election is good news. Twice Governor of Oregon and a proven vote-getter, McKay is the strongest candidate the Republicans have available in the area. The issue in this contest is clear. McKay will stand on his record as Secretary of the Interior for President Eisenhower and on his belief that, whenever possible, power should be developed by private enterprise. Morse, a leading—and certainly the most talkative—advocate of Big Government, will accuse McKay of horrible crimes against humanity. May McKay win!

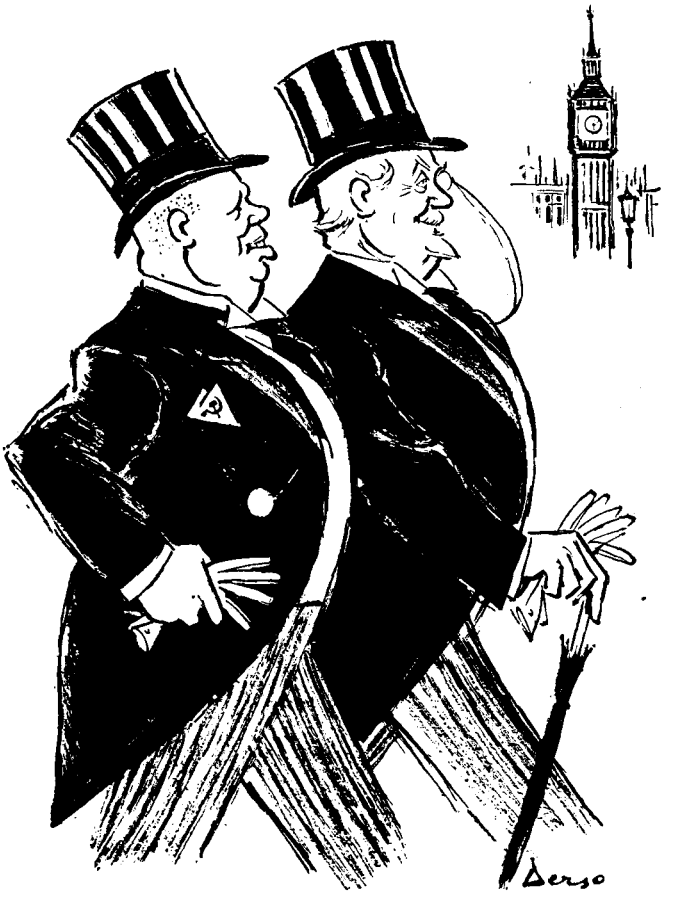
**Last week Mr. Ned Brooks,** speaking on Ray Henle's broadcast, "Three-Star Extra," invited the newly organized Senate committee investigating lobbying activities to have a look at the files of the clerk of the House of Representatives. There one can find the *listed* labor union contributions to Forward-Looking senators. For example, in 1954: for Senator Douglas, $35,500; for Senator Murray, $32,000; for Senator Neuberger, $21,000; for Senator Humphrey, $20,000; for Senator McNamara, $17,000; for Senator Kefauver, $15,000; for Senator Burke (who lost to Senator Bender), $23,000.

**The Soviet scheme foretold** in our "Resistance" dispatches (NATIONAL REVIEW, Dec. 7, 1955 and Jan. 11) has come into the open. A note handed by Soviet Ambassador Valerian Zorin to the West German State Secretary for Foreign Affairs asks for the names of all "former Soviet nationals" living in refugee camps, and requests permission for Soviet "teams" to visit the camps. Note that Moscow classifies all former Balts and all Poles from the eastern provinces absorbed into the Soviet Union as "former Soviet nationals." Note that, in spite of the Soviet agreement with Adenauer, Moscow still holds thousands of Germans as hostages. Remember, finally, the Soviet "repatriation" program at the end of the war, when hundreds of thousands of "Soviet nationals" were forcibly dragged back to the slave camps, prisons and execution chambers of the MVD.

**Their Excellencies, the Ambassadors** of Syria and Israel, arrived at NBC's "American Forum" recently to debate Middle Eastern policies, proceeded with the debate, and left the studio without once setting eyes on each other. They were separated by a "plasterboard curtain" which Syrian Ambassador Zeineddine insisted NBC erect—to dramatize Syria's non-recognition of the Jewish State. This brings fascinating mental images to mind. What happens, for instance, if Ambassadors Zeineddine and Eban meet walking down the street? Does Mr. Zeineddine carry a set of portable blinders to don in such an emergency? Is he forced to cede the right of way and turn down another street? Or will the doctrine of non-recognition be satisfied by Mr. Zeineddine calmly assuming that Mr. Eban isn't there at all? We confess that heretofore the personal ramifications of non-recognition had entirely escaped us.

**Dr. Johannes Hurzeler,** of the Basle Natural History Museum, has presented a report to his paleontological colleagues in this country that has all the earmarks of subversion and heresy. He has proved, apparently, that a fossil named *oreopithecus,* found some years ago in a North Italian coal seam, belonged to a human-like being, with no ape characteristics, that lived ten million years ago. This is five or six times farther back than permitted by the standard Darwinian reconstruction that links the ancestry of men and apes. What is going to happen to the Progressive Story of Creation if we have no apes in our family tree, and the schools have to go back to the long outmoded doctrine that men are human?

**Memo to Anthony Eden:** Stock up on the gin. Bulganin's fondest recollection of his Summit meeting with Eisenhower appears to be those martinis. Prepare to carry on with the spirits of Geneva.



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## The McClellan Investigation

In this issue, Mr. Bozell reports on the ingenious devices uncovered by the Senate Investigating Committee for getting around the law of the land and permitting our allies to trade, extensively and in material of direct importance to a nation's warmaking potential, with the Soviet Union. The story is sordid in its denuding of the materialistic amorality of our allies, and in its exposure of the willingness of our own government to cooperate in efforts at pulling the wool over the eyes of Congress and the American people. Finally the story is an arresting demonstration of a bureaucracy in almost complete control, of a massive and arrogant contempt, by the Executive, for the legislative. In getting to the root of the matter, Senator McClellan deserves the gratitude of a nation concerned to press the fight against Communism, and restore the division of power in its own government.

## Exit Makarios

At first blush, the dramatic deportation of Archbishop Makarios from Cyprus strikes us as an act both desperate and unintelligent; and the immediate organization of a general strike in Cyprus tends to confirm that impression. Yet granting that the British have bungled the Cyprus question in the past few years: still, what course is now open to them, short of complete withdrawal or forcible suppression of an insurrection which is apparently masterminded by the Archbishop?

Our correspondent in England, Mr. Voigt, writes:

> British soldiers are being murdered and the Athenian wireless pours out constant incitement to murder. "The Cypriots should talk to them [the British] with the raw language of fighters"—"the struggle is sacred and righteous"—"freedom is acquired by blood"—these are extracts from recent transmissions. Greece, a member of the Atlantic Alliance, is, through its principal wireless station, instigating murder and sedition on the territory of another member, Great Britain.
>
> Why does not the Greek government stop these broadcasts? It would like to, for it knows that the British alliance is vital to the security of Greece and of more than Greece. But if it tries to stop them, it will make the already heated nationalism of its own people hotter still and weld the alliance between nationalism and Communism. Naturally, the Greek Communists are posturing as patriots now!
>
> Two men, George Rhallis (who is head of the Greek Prime Minister's office) and Dimitrios Pounaras, are responsible for these broadcasts. They glory in them and are regarded as national heroes. The Greek government dare not touch them.
>
> The Communists, who were totally defeated in the civil war, during which they massacred some fifty thousand Greek women and children, are full of hope once more. Greece is slipping—slipping—towards the Left.

## Less Sound and Fury

There is reason to be sincerely grateful to the *New York Times* for its sober and informative "Report on the South: The Integration Issue," which appeared recently as an eight-page supplement to the regular daily edition. Here was a gratifying absence of cant and exhortation, and an effort—sometimes it seemed an almost bewildered effort—to understand (though never to sympathize with) what the Southerner is talking about.

Alas, the issue is by now so much in the hands of extremists that the *Times* will most probably not reap the credit it is due: it will be roundly denounced in some quarters for treating the subject without the quality which it demands—a fiery moral passion to do justice.

NATIONAL REVIEW has contended, all along, that there are a number of issues involved in the segregation controversy which do not bear on the merits of the question whether Negroes and Whites should go to school together in the South. We have stated our views that the May 1954 decision by the Supreme Court was an act of judicial usurpation; that it ran "patently counter to the intent of the Constitution"; that it was "shoddy and illegal in analysis, and invalid as sociology." And we have implied that it is not altogether clear whether a moral issue is at stake. If there is one at stake, it was there before the Supreme Court thought about it; and hence the moral fervor that has been attached to the Court decision itself is unconvincing and, at worst, hypocritical.

For our pains, we have been hit over the head, good and hard, by perfervid partisans of both camps. Some (we are especially grateful that the number is small) ask us whether we desire to "mongrelize" the race; others, who favor immediate integration, have read our editorials with "mounting horror, indignation and disgust."

We go over that ground to focus attention on the terrible bitterness that the situation has engendered —and to note, with especial approval, reassuring symptoms that begin to appear from both camps. The *New York Times,* certainly a representative of the irreconcilable integrationist camp, writes that the Citizens Council groups in the South contain not only "'white trash' with violence in its mind" but also "community leaders of impeccable standing who aim to keep in check any tendency to ruthlessness." And the legislative leaders of the South, in their "Declaration of Constitutional Principles"—unambiguously



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rejecting the Supreme Court decision and announcing their decision to embark upon a course of legal resistance—appealed to the South "to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts."

Neither side is shaken in its determination to win the final round. But it is the pleasure of a conservative magazine to take notice of the calmness that, or so it seems, begins to emerge from the collective memory of the American people.

## *Electing A President*

According to reports from Washington, the question of changing our constitutional rules for the election of our Chief Executive will reach the floor of Congress during its current session. If Congress senses the existence of a genuine public concern in the matter, it is quite possible that the required two-thirds majority will submit a constitutional amendment to the states.

In general, we believe that the nation does well to be slow about changing its basic law. But we feel that the case for amending the constitutional provisions on electing a President has been established. We agree with Mr. Lucius Wilmerding's scholarly non-partisan analysis (NATIONAL REVIEW, March 7) and with his argument in favor of local district elections of Presidential electors, along the general lines of either the Mundt or the Smith proposals now before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Such amendment of the electoral procedure would get rid of long-recognized inequities and anomalies. It would virtually eliminate the chance of getting a "minority President"; would reduce the excessive weight of the two or three most heavily populated states; and would help frustrate the balance-of-power maneuvers of small but tightly organized political groupings. Moreover, these results would be obtained in a way that would not violate, but more accurately carry out in practice, the constitutional ideas of the Founding Fathers.

## *A Monocle for McCarthy?*

Last autumn, in the face of public dismay over the handling of the Burgess-Maclean case, the British government appointed a Conference of Privy Councellors on Security, headed by the Marquess of Salisbury, to study security problems and submit recommendations. This Conference has just reported, and the government has accepted its proposals.

By a remarkable stroke of investigative genius the Councellors came up with the following discovery: "chief risks are presented by Communists and by other persons who, for one reason or another, are subject to Communist influence."

Department chiefs are told to inform themselves of "serious failings such as drunkenness, addiction to drugs, homosexuality, or any loose living that may seriously affect a man's reliability."

"The Communist faith overrides a man's normal loyalties to his country and induces the belief that it is justifiable to hand over secret information to the Communist Party or to the Communist foreign powers."

Isn't there a British Ford Foundation to give a British Hutchins 15 million pounds to defend the liberties of freeborn Englishmen?

## *Mystery at Iowa State*

A most perplexing case of academic shenanigans goes on in Iowa State College. It all began when a junior, William J. Ackerman, commented in a letter to the *Wall Street Journal* that the basic textbook used in the economics course required of students of engineering contains not a "single reference or statement that could be taken as being favorable to free enterprise." The text in question is called *Economics: Experience and Analysis*, by Mitchell, Murad, Berkowitz, Bagley, *et al.*

Ackerman was immediately summoned before four members of the faculty for a closed-door session that lasted several hours. There issued from this a "statement" signed by Ackerman, "recanting" his charges against the textbook—or so, at any rate, Dr. James Hilton, President of Iowa State, announced. He went on to say, in his own letter to the *Wall Street Journal*, "The young man who wrote the letter is a good student. Unfortunately he made the mistake of lifting statements out of context from the textbook in question which gave a distorted picture of the material actually presented in the course."

Iowa State College settled back to enjoy the special pleasure that goes with totally suppressing a little mutiny. The college's victory would be complete but for the fact that *Economics: Experience and Analysis* is, cover to cover, a pro-collectivist book. Generous extracts from it were published in NATIONAL REVIEW three weeks ago (see "Ivory Tower," March 7). The principal author of it—Dr. Broadus Mitchell—lists himself in *Who's Who* (and this, Dr. Hilton, is not out of context) as a "Socialist."

NATIONAL REVIEW has gone to extraordinary lengths to secure a copy of the statement Ackerman signed. To no avail. The Des Moines *Sunday Register*, which first broke the story of the recantation, never had seen a copy, either; the college newspaper hadn't seen it, and had no curiosity about it. (How different it would have been if a Socialist had been victim-



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ized!) The President's office ignored a telegram requesting the text—and now, it develops, William Ackerman is himself unable to get hold of a copy because, university authorities say, all the "records" have been destroyed

Ackerman has informed a representative of NATIONAL REVIEW that he will issue a new release stating that his "opinion of the book remains the same." This release should throw light on some crucial questions. Was Ackerman intimidated? Or confused? Did President Hilton misrepresent the statement Ackerman signed? If not, why did he destroy the document? One thing that shines through all the mystifications: Iowa State was caught using a blatantly pro-socialist basic text, didn't have the moral courage to admit it, hasn't yet exhibited that courage, choosing, rather, to browbeat the perceptive junior who spotted the text and brought it to public attention.

## The Debonair Mr. Green

Communist leader Gilbert Green (who recently surrendered to federal authorities and began serving the five-year term to which he was sentenced in 1949) has been found guilty of contempt of court. His lawyer and fellow-Communist, John J. Abt, managed to find objectionable everything that happened at every turn of the brief and conclusive trial, from the opening statement which characterized Green "unjustly," to the evidence which was "irrelevant," to the charge which was inconsistent with "medieval English law" (sic). But what could he do? Green had disobeyed a court order for five years. Mr. Abt is very anxious that his client be spared an additional prison sentence. But his client seems to find it academic, having told reporters: "I have great confidence in the American people and that . . . the trend, which is now setting in, will mature and that long before my prison term is up the prison gates will open and there will no longer be any political prisoners in the United States." We hope Mr. Abt's concern for his clients reflects a more realistic estimate as to the longevity and viability of the spirit of Geneva.

## Von Mises

With enthusiasm, NATIONAL REVIEW joins with men and women throughout the world in testifying to the greatness of Dr. Ludwig von Mises, who exactly fifty years ago was awarded a doctorate by the University of Vienna.

Dr. von Mises was recently honored, at a dinner in New York, by prominent economists and writers and men of affairs. They all came to acclaim the courage which he has shown in standing firm, during an age of economic adventurism, against the collectivists and inflationists. Dr. von Mises was presented with a *Festschrift* on which scholars all over the world have worked for many months. (Copies are available through the Foundation for Economic Education in Irvington, New York.) The highlight was an address delivered by one of Dr. von Mises' most renowned pupils, Professor Friedrich Hayek, author of *The Road to Serfdom.*

Dr. Hayek reminisced about his student days in Vienna where he (and a number of other luminaries, including Lionel Robbins and Wilhelm Roepke) studied economics. He recalled von Mises' "exasperating tendency of being right in the end." In 1922, von Mises published his masterpiece, *Socialism.* "It broke our world to pieces," Hayek commented. "For those of us who read it when it came out, in 1922, the world was never the same again."

Hayek remarked the tragic fact that this major and irrefutable indictment of socialism continues to be imperfectly understood and, for that reason, unheeded. Hayek recalled Lord Keynes' comment on it. "When reading German," Keynes told Hayek, "I only understand what I know already." The consequences of Keynes' bad German have been serious indeed. But those who *have* understood Dr. von Mises are trying to undo Keynes' historic failure.

## Brotherhood, Incorporated

The National Conference of Christians and Jews has announced its annual awards "to the media of mass communications." The Brotherhood Award went to John Lord O'Brien for his book, *National Security and Individual Freedom,* yet another volume warning of the dissipation of our freedoms. An Assistant Brotherhood Award went to Dean Erwin N. Griswold of Harvard, for his *The Fifth Amendment Today,* a discussion which comes close to identifying its use as an act of unalloyed patriotism.

One marvels at an organization dedicated to nourishing interracial harmony throwing its tax-exempt weight behind two tendentious volumes which take a position with respect to internal security that has nothing whatever to do with interracial harmony. Much of this Brotherhood, Inc. business has become a vested interest, less concerned with promoting genuine friendship and understanding between races than with stagy demonstrations of ersatz kinship and ventures into totally unrelated political and educational partisanship. In 1382, John Wycliffe reminded us that "Of the charite of britherhed we hadden not nede for to wryte to you"—but would probably not have earned a Brotherhood Award for his pains. Nor would Lebrun-Pindare, who wrote, "Let us be brothers—or I'll cut your throat."



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# The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

We spoke last week of how a certain turn of events in the approaching Presidential campaign might tempt the Liberal propaganda machine

— to drop its pose of being, like the British monarch, "above party";

— to shoot the works on its never-very-carefully-concealed preference for the Democratic Party over the Republican Party, and for Adlai Stevenson over all other Presidential candidates, dead, living and unborn;

— to plug Stevenson's Eisenhower-has-one-foot-in-the-grave line, together with his contention that a vote for Eisenhower is a vote for abandoning the traditional American conception of the Presidency.

And we saw how, for the moment, the machine simultaneously a) maintains its look of impartiality by merely giving front-page space to whatever Stevenson chooses to say in this vein; and b) keeps the position "staked out" through the good offices of its so-called Left wing — that is, the *New Republic*.

This week I wish to speak of another position that the machine has been at pains to stake out for itself in recent weeks — a position that, in this columnist's view, would really give Candidate Eisenhower a run for his money. For, almost without anyone's noticing it (or, one suspects, intending it), the position has now expanded into a damning indictment of the Administration in an area in which the electorate will stand for no foolishness. It has, moreover, twice been urged in the Senate by senators with large personal followings (Symington and Fulbright), on both occasions in language notably less temperate than the comity of American politics normally permits. And, by now, it has marshalled behind it an amount of supporting evidence and argument that merits careful attention from Republican headquarters.

The technique on this position has, I repeat, been slightly different. The staking-out job was entrusted, from an early moment, to top-echelon machine operatives of unimpeachable respectability; namely, the Alsops. And, what is more important for our purposes, the Alsops have been permitted to handle it with easily recognizable we-may-stop-reporting-any-moment-and-move-in-on-this overtones. (All other operatives appear to have been instructed to report the newsbreaks, and otherwise lay off.)

Pausing only to notice that both the senators mentioned above accused the Administration of deliberately *deceiving* the American people about their strategic situation *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union, let us content ourselves this week with grasping the position's central ideas. And let us, to that end, watch it develop in the Alsops' strong and capable hands:

The Alsops, December 12, 1955: "The massive recent progress of the Kremlin's armament programs constitutes [a] . . . great challenge . . . [The] world power balance is now [almost certainly] moving in the Soviet's favor . . . Yet the [Eisenhower Administration's] decision . . . was to let the world power balance move against us . . . A national choice of the most far-reaching importance. It has been *carefully shrouded, as the custom now is,* from the vulgar gaze of the American public . . . [Events] will tear aside the veil when the Joint Chiefs have to tell Congress *the real state of our defenses . . .*" (italics added).

The Alsops, December 28, 1955: ". . . the Army is more than ever [a] . . . step-child . . . Moreover, it remains essentially a World War II Army . . . [The] means are at hand for a real atomic-age army . . . [We] ought to be able to beat the Communist world . . . But we are not doing it. The main reason, of course, is money . . . [It would take] a lot of money. But losing wars, . . . or not being able to fight them, can be very costly too."

The Alsops, January 2, 1956: "Some months ago the National Security Council voted to give an over-riding first priority to missile development. And the Pentagon is now going all out to build missiles, at least *to the extent that the Wilson Pentagon is capable of going all out in any field of weapons development* . . . [But] on present prospects, there will be a gap of three or four years between the first Soviet test of the ultimate weapon and the equivalent American test. This fateful prospect has hardly caused a ripple in this country, because of *public ignorance* and *self-interested official pooh-poohing* . . . [The] whole country ought to be up in arms" (italics added).

The Alsops, January 4, 1956: "The United States is now losing its air atomic lead to the Soviet Union. *Or you might say that the sole defense of the free world is being limply cast away* . . . Soviet output is now far ahead of American output in three of the four major categories of combat aircraft . . . But it is current doctrine that the richest country in the world is too poor to pay for its own defense."

The Alsops, January 6, 1956: "Within a . . . short time, the American Strategic Air Command will be measurably weaker than . . . the Strategic Air Army of the Red Air Force . . . [No] other conclusion can be drawn from the American government's own intelligence forecasts, as agreed and approved by the National Security Council itself . . . If you can add up [the] facts to any other conclusion except the one stated above, you must employ *the peculiar mathematics that can only be learned on the highest level at the Pentagon*" (italics added).

Let the reader ponder some of the underlined phrases in the foregoing excerpts ("carefully shrouded, as the custom now is," "the real state of our defenses," the "Wilson Pentagon," "public ignorance," "self-interested official pooh-poohing," "sole defense . . . being limply cast away," "peculiar mathematics"). Let him attend, as he ponders, to what these expressions imply as well as what they assert. And let him—by way of thinking forward to next week's column—ask himself what, taken together, they commit the Alsops to; and how they would sound if they had behind them all the decibels at the command of the Liberal propaganda machine.



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# *Trading with the Enemy*

## A Report on the McClellan Investigation

L. BRENT BOZELL

One day early last month, after conferring with Sir Anthony Eden, Mr. Eisenhower announced the U.S. was ready to study British proposals for "revising" current restrictions on trade with the minor partner of the Communist entente, Red China.

The same day, by perverse coincidence, the Senate Subcommittee on Investigations (now headed by Senator McClellan) scheduled open hearings on a related matter, namely: on what happened after the U.S. sat down with its allies, two years ago, to consider "revising" the trade embargo against the entente's major partner. Despite strenuous Administration opposition to a public airing of the matter, the McClellan Committee has since listened to a hair-raising tale of current, U.S.-authorized, strategic trade with the Soviet Union—one that shows that U.S. China-trade negotiators are haggling over whether it is safe to leave the back door ajar when the front door is standing wide open.

Testimony heard by the Committee so far makes several conclusions inescapable:

—the U.S., in August 1954, by agreeing to delete or downgrade approximately 200 of 450 items from the free world's strategic embargo list, made the most damaging concessions yet (*vis à vis* world Communism) to its allies, even taking into account Mr. Truman's agreement to confine the Korean War;

—in making the concessions, the Administration violated the spirit, if not also the letter, of the Battle Act of 1951 (see below);

—in order to conceal the nature and extent of the concessions, Administration officials resorted, at the time, to positive falsification;

—in order to keep congressional discoveries to a minimum now that the McClellan Committee is on the track, the Administration is defending a plainly indefensible application of Executive secrecy orders. For example, in the name of security, the Administration is refusing to divulge the official list of disembargoed items, even though the Soviet Union can find out what is available merely by putting in a purchase order.

Then, there is this major conclusion to be drawn:

—American taxpayers are currently subsidizing, in part, the construction of the Soviet war machine (see box p. 10).

That the U.S. was permitting friendly nations on its payroll to ship to the Soviet Union highly strategic machine tools, metals, electronic and transportation equipment, etc., was known to the Committee before it started its hearings. That fact had been established through months of painstaking research and investigation, begun during Senator McCarthy's tenure, and continued under the direction of McClellan's able and persevering chief counsel, Robert Kennedy. The staff's information had come principally from three sources: ex-Administration officials, no longer bound by secrecy orders; incumbent lower echelon officials, who talked relatively freely until they received specific gag orders from heads of departments; and foreign trade journals that had made public, over a year ago, much of the information the Administration refused to furnish for security reasons. The questions the Committee still wanted answered were: Why had the U.S. agreed to relax strategic trade controls? And who in the Administration had been responsible for the decision?

The concessions had been necessary, Administration officials asserted, because our allies had insisted on increased trade with the Soviet bloc as the price of keeping the Western alliance a going concern. On the issue of who had decided a) that the alliance would be jeopardized if the U.S. insisted on retaining pre-1954 controls, and b) how high a price the U.S. was prepared to pay to avoid jeopardizing the alliance, the Administration seemed determined to keep the Congress as ignorant as possible.

The Committee was forced, in the circumstances, to undertake a tedious expedition into heretofore unexplored reaches of the federal bureaucracy.

### *How U.S. Embargo Policy Is Made*

The Committee learned, to begin with, that U.S. embargo policy, as it affects U.S. exporters, and U.S. embargo policy, as it affects *allied* exporters, are very different things. Though Congress apparently intended similar policies, and though Executive machinery exists for making them similar, that is not the way they end up; and one of the Committee's questions became, why?

Before the Marshall Plan gave the U.S. an effective voice in allied export policy, the U.S. embargo affected only American exporters; and it was handled by the Department of Commerce. Until 1948, Commerce relied upon an informal committee to decide what could be shipped to the Soviet bloc; the chairman of that committee, interestingly enough, was William Remington, later convicted of perjury for falsely denying membership in the Communist Party.

In 1948 the embargo was formalized by Congress, and included both domestic and international controls. The Export Control Act authorized the Secretary of Commerce, with the advice of other Executive departments, to refuse export licenses for shipment of strategic goods to the Soviet bloc. The Secretary established the Advisory Committee on Export Policy (ACEP), representing the interested departments, to advise him as to the strategic value of specific items. ACEP was instructed to weigh U.S. needs for the items, as well as their value to the Soviets. The Secretary thereupon published a list of banned goods, which



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has come to be known as the U.S. "positive list."

Concurrently, the Economic Cooperation Act authorized the ECA Administrator to seek the cooperation of countries receiving U.S. aid in enforcing a joint anti-Communist embargo. To coordinate the embargo, the Marshall countries set up the International Organization for Strategic Trade Control, a consultative group that now represents all NATO countries, plus Japan. This organization operates through two committees—the Coordinating Committee (COCOM) which supervises trade with Eastern Europe, and the China Committee (CHINCOM) which deals with China and Korea trade. COCOM and CHINCOM classify items as to whether they are to be a) embargoed completely, b) shipped in limited quotas, or c) put on a "watch" list to ascertain whether trade is kept within safe limits. The result is the ultra secret[1] "international list."

| *Items that nations receiving U.S. aid may ship to Soviet bloc* | *War Production Uses* |
|---|---|
| **Horizontal boring machines (Costs $200,000-$500,000)** | **Tanks, artillery, aircraft, aicraft carrier catapult parts, atom reactors for "Nautilus" class submarines** |
| **Precision boring mills** | **Radar control mechanisms, jet engines, guided missile components** |
| **Vertical boring mills** | **Jet engines, guided missiles, turbines, aircraft armament** |
| **Hydraulic and mechanical presses** | **Aircraft parts (e.g., wings), shell casings** |
| **Dynamic balancing machines** | **Guided missile engines, gyros, radar control, turbines** |
| **Surface grinding machines** | **Jet engines, guided missiles, radar, gyros** |
| **Copper wire** | **Aircraft engines, communications** |
| **Aluminum** | **Aircraft construction, shells** |
| **Magnesium** | **Aircraft construction, transportation vehicles, bomb casings** |
| **Asbestos** | **Cable insulation, gas mask filters** |
| **Talc** | **Spacer in electronic tubes** |
| **Corundum** | **Munitions hardware** |
| **Graphite** | **Making crucibles for heating metals at high temperatures** |
| **Mica** | **Spacer in electronic tubes** |
| **Quartz crystal** | **Electronics field, in general** |
| **Nickel alloy (30%)** | **Heavy construction parts** |
| **Beryllium alloy (50%)** | **Atomic reactors** |
| **Zirconium alloy (60%)** | **Atomic reactors** |
| **Molybdenum alloy (20%)** | **Jet aircraft parts** |
| **Power generators up to 60,000 kw. Turbines up to 85,000 h.p.** | **Making of fissionable material** |
| **Diesel engines, steam locomotives, flat cars, well cars, other railroad equipment** | |
| **Electronics equipment** | |
| **Radio transmitters** | |

In the Battle Act of 1951, Congress took steps to tighten U.S. control over allied export policy. The Battle Act declared it to be "the policy of the U.S. that *no military, economic or financial assistance shall be supplied to any nation unless it applies an embargo . . . on the shipment of* arms, ammunition, and implements of war, atomic energy materials, petroleum, *transportation materials of strategic value, and items of primary significance used in the production of arms, ammunition and the implements of war to any nation* [in the Soviet bloc.]." (Emphasis added.) Termination of U.S. aid is mandatory if strategic weapons (as opposed to strategic production materials) are shipped to the Communists. As for production materials, aid may be continued in a case where the President finds "unusual circumstances," and determines that cutting off aid would be "clearly detrimental" to U.S. security; *but even then the President must immediately report the exception to Congress.* The prior and therefore critical determination as to what production items *are* strategic is to be made, under the Act, by the Battle Act "Administrator." In 1954, when the U.S. agreed to relax the embargo, the Battle Act Administrator was Harold Stassen.

## *Advice from Other Groups*

The Battle Act Administrator, in making up the "Battle Act list" (of proscribed items for export by countries receiving U.S. aid), is, like the Secretary of Commerce in making up the U.S. "positive list," required to seek the advice of other interested departments. The Economic Defense Advisory Committee (EDAC) was thus established as the Battle Act counterpart to ACEP; and both groups were placed under the National Security Council.

ACEP and EDAC soon realized they

[1]The Administration's refusal to permit publication of the "international list" is one of the McClellan Committee's major frustrations: the British "positive list" for Eastern Europe presumably corresponds with the COCOM "international list" (unless the British are violating COCOM agreements), *and the British list was published in October 1954.*



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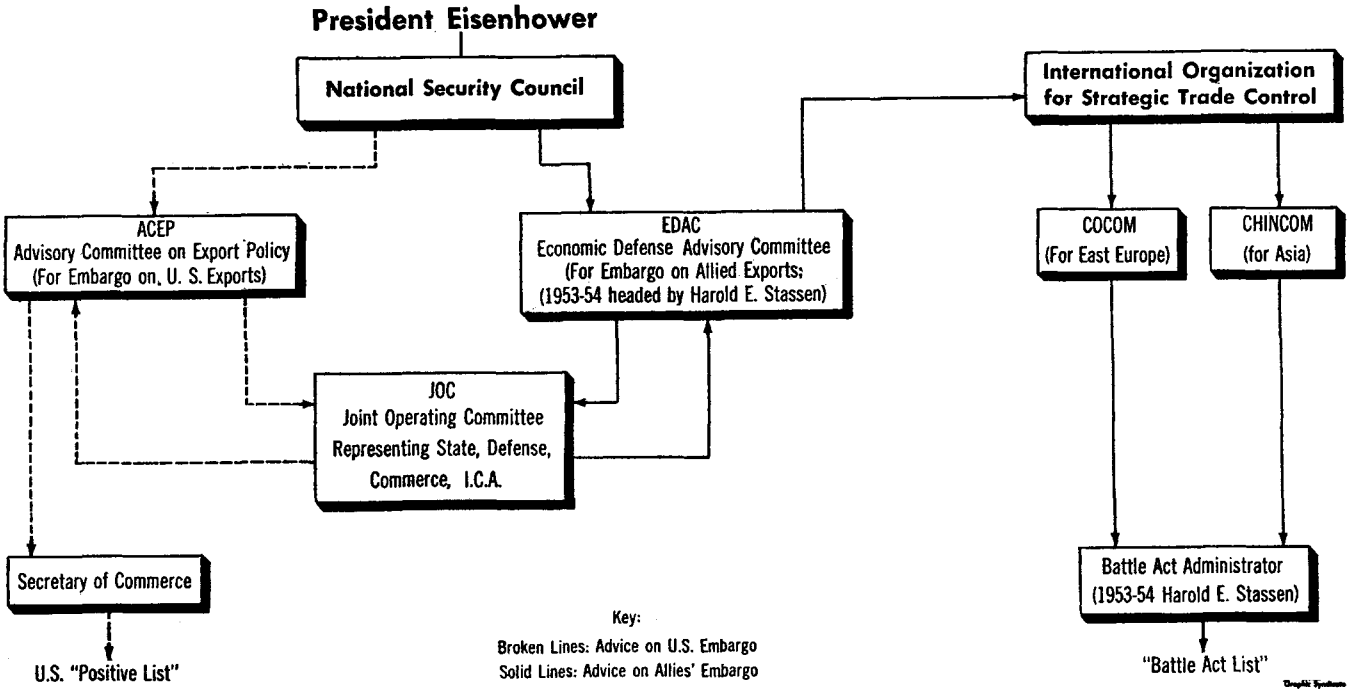
## *How the U. S. Makes up its Mind on Communist Embargo*




had common problems, decided to merge on the operational level. The result was the Joint Operating Committee (JOC), which thereupon bore the responsibility for evaluating U.S. technical advice on both domestic and international embargo policy; and which, as a result, figured prominently in the McClellan hearings. Although JOC's recommendations, as to whether specific items should be disembargoed, theoretically reflected the combined views of four departments (State, Defense, Commerce and the Foreign Operations Administration[1]), they were, in the last analysis, the recommendations of its chairman, Mr. Herbert Blackman, who was empowered, under JOC's rules, to resolve disagreements.

JOC's "experts" were not, however, given a free rein—once the decision had been made on a higher level to relax the allied embargo. JOC's recommendations as to the strategic value of specific items had to conform to criteria prescribed by EDAC (headed by Mr. Stassen), and passed on by the National Security Council. Moreover, recommendations by JOC were subject to an appeal to EDAC or the Council by the head of any of the represented departments.

In sum: during 1953 and 1954, when Western European countries intensified pressures on the U.S. to relax the anti-Communist embargo, the preliminary U.S. decisions, as to what goods were strategic, were made by JOC. Under the law, however, the final determination with regard to exports by nations receiving U.S. aid had to be made by Mr. Stassen (the Battle Act); and with regard to U.S. exports, by Secretary Weeks (the Export Control Act). Mr. Stassen was clearly on the hot seat: if the U.S. could not persuade COCOM nations to hold the line on strategic production materials, Mr. Stassen would have to see to it that the U.S. changed its views as to what items were strategic. Otherwise, President Eisenhower would be forced either to terminate U. S. foreign aid or to offer to Congress predictably unpalatable explanations as to why that aid was *not* terminated.

### *1954: Year of Concessions*

Late in 1953, the Soviet Government stepped up its campaign on behalf of increased East-West trade. In January 1954, a British trade mission visited Moscow to discuss the sort of business the Communists had in mind. And within a month, on February 25, Prime Minister Churchill told Commons the free world ought to relax its embargo against Eastern Europe. In March, the U.S. proposed a review of the COCOM international list. Later that month, in London, Mr. Stassen for the U.S., Peter Thorneycroft (President of the British Board of Trade) for the U.K., and Maurice Schuman for France, reached an agreement in principle as to the kind of relaxation the U.S. would permit. This tripartite agreement was turned over for implementation to COCOM.

Meanwhile, JOC was busy, on the technical level, preparing the U.S. position for the COCOM negotiations. JOC had begun a crash review of items, theretofore considered strategic, some time in January 1954—strongly suggesting the U.S. had decided to go along with British demands a good while before Mr. Churchill applied public pressure in his Commons speech. Mr. Stassen's EDAC had laid down criteria for decontrols. Within that framework, JOC, convening three or four times a week from January to June, "re-evaluated" U.S. views on the strategic value of specific items.

Despite intensive, and often angry, questioning of Administration officials by the McClellan Committee, most of what went on at those meetings remains a dark secret. These facts, however, have been established:

1. JOC recommended that approximately one-third of the items on the pre-1954 strategic list be disembargoed, including 77 machine tools.

[1]After July 1, 1955, the International Cooperation Administration



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2. The Department of Defense vigorously objected to most of the deletions, possibly to all of them.[1] Defense representatives on JOC pointed out, not only that such tools and materials were immensely valuable in Soviet war production, but that *all* of the metals and minerals in question were on the U.S. critical stockpile list. Since many of these were (and are) in short supply in the U.S. (Defense argued) why not make arrangements for the U.S. to *buy* them instead of allowing our allies to *sell* them to the Communists? In some cases, Defense appealed JOC's decision to the National Security Council—and in at least one instance, successfully. Petroleum was originally deleted from the embargo by JOC, but restored after a Defense appeal.

3. EDAC's criteria for re-evaluating strategic items (at least as they were interpreted by State, Commerce and FOA) appear to have included this basic instruction: if a given item is useful in peaceful industrial production, as well as in war production, it should not be considered "strategic." In other words, since aluminum can be used to produce pots as well as bombers, aluminum could be sent to the Soviet Union.

The McClellan Committee got nowhere in trying to find out a) how JOC had recommended on specific items; b) whether JOC's list had been altered subsequently at the EDAC level; and c) how the final U.S. position had fared at the COCOM negotiations. It learned only that COCOM, during the summer of 1954, had prepared a new "international list"; that nearly half the items theretofore considered strategic had been dropped from or downgraded on the new list; that the U.S. "Battle Act list" had been adjusted accordingly on the authority of Mr. Stassen; and that the U.S. "positive list" (of strategic items banned in U.S. trade with the Soviet bloc) remained unchanged.

This was, however, considerably more than Congress or the public had been told when the deed was done. The first news of the COCOM agreements had come from the Department of Commerce on August 26, 1954: "Recent international agreements," the Department announced, will "provide an opportunity for increased trade in peaceful goods," and will "continue the embargo on those goods which are of importance to the military capacity of the Soviet bloc." Shortly thereafter, Battle Act Administrator Stassen advised:

"I am convinced that this revision which has been made with the concurrence of the Departments of State, Treasury, Defense and Commerce, and approved by the President, will result in a net advantage to the free world of expanded peaceful trade and more effective control of the war potential items."

## *Even More Misleading*

In November 1954, when the time came to give Congress the required annual Battle Act Report, Mr. Stassen was more specific and even more misleading. Stassen told Congress that, *inter alia*, "Minerals and metals of basic importance to the Soviet military power such as aluminum, copper, nickel, molybdenum, cobalt, magnesium, tungsten and titanium remain on the . . . embargo list." This despite the facts, now established, that

—pure aluminum was removed from the embargo, as were a number of aluminum alloys;

—*unprocessed* copper remained on the embargo, but the finished product, in the form of highly strategic copper wire,[2] was taken off;

—nickel alloys up to 30 per cent were removed from the embargo;

—molybdenum alloys up to 20 per cent were removed from the embargo;

—magnesium was removed from the embargo.

Mr. Stassen also reported: "The revised electric power equipment group in the embargo list includes heavy power generating equipment which is significant to the Soviet bloc war potential, but excludes such items as outboard motors, condenser tubes and smaller sizes of motors, generators and diesel engines." The McClellan Committee learned, however, that 60,000 kw. generators, 85,000 h.p. turbines and 12,500 b.h.p. electric motors were taken off the list. (Far from being in the "outboard motor" category, the 12,500 b.h.p. motor is one of the largest made.)

## *Deliberate Circumvention*

But even more serious, in the Committee's eyes, than Mr. Stassen's fibs was Mr. Stassen's and the Administration's flagrant disregard for the intent of Congress as declared in the Battle Act. Stassen may have been right in maintaining, as he did when he testified before the McClellan Committee, that U.S. failure to go along with allied demands to ease the embargo might well have shattered the Western alliance; and, consequently, might have resulted in a greater relaxation of Western controls than actually took place. But the momentous test remained that Congress had passed a law which instructed the Executive branch what to do in such a predicament. Mr. Stassen had deliberately circumvented the Act's instruction to cut off aid to countries that insist on shipping strategic goods to the Soviets (or, in the alternative, to report to Congress the reasons for not doing so)—by the simple stratagem of deciding that items our allies wanted most to sell were, for purposes of *allied* trade, not "strategic."

Perhaps, by this device, the Administration complied with the letter of the Battle Act; though, again, perhaps not. One of the questions the McClellan Committee will raise in its report is whether the Battle Act was violated by Mr. Stassen's failure to treat the COCOM agreement and the resultant revision of the Battle Act list as the kind of exceptions to congressional policy that must, under the provisions of the Act, be reported to Congress.

But little will have been achieved by the McClellan investigation if the Committee, or Congress itself, misses the point about who is calling the turns on free-world strategy. The basic decisions are not being made by Congress, and not even by the Executive branch of the American Government; but by nations which, for some purposes, have entered into a *de facto* alliance with the enemy.

[1] Certainly to all of those listed on p. 10. Defense Department witnesses, early in the hearings, testified more or less freely as to what their views had been on decontrolling specific items. However, before they had got through the list, the Administration decreed that all Department recommendations were to be treated as "privileged" and forbade their disclosure to the Committee.

[2] The Committee adduced the further facts that since August 1954, over 200 million pounds of copper wire have been shipped by the free world to the Soviet bloc, that Britain is the principal shipper, and that the U.S. is providing a direct subsidy to British copper mines in Rhodesia. Moreover, copper is on the U.S. critical stockpile list; during 1954 and 1955, the U.S. found it necessary to divert 150 million pounds of copper from its stockpile for current industrial use.



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# A Limit on Income Tax

**The head of the Western Tax Council discusses the need of a constitutional limitation on the power of Congress to tax incomes, and argues that, even with expenditures high, limitation is feasible**

FRANK E. PACKARD

The 16th Amendment to our Constitution says that Congress can levy income taxes *without limit*. For those who have never actually looked at the language of that 16th Amendment, here it is:

> The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, without apportionment among the several states, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

The first income-tax law enacted after the adoption of this amendment provided a 2 per cent tax, and this only on the topmost incomes. Today, the lowest rate is 20 per cent; the highest, 87 per cent.

Of course, you and I pay also the income taxes of business corporations. A bakery, for example, must try and pass its income tax on to those who buy bread because, if it doesn't, it will be left without profits.

And to show no profits means that the bakery's stockholders will withdraw their money from the company; that no funds will be available for repairing the plant, for buying a new bakery truck when the old one breaks down, for relining an oven, or for providing against the occasional day when bread sales aren't too good and payrolls must still be met. So the bakery must try to shift its tax load onto the consumer.

This combination of high income taxes and a steadily rising price level due to high business taxes, plus inflation stimulated by governmental deficits, forces everybody to run hard just to stay in the same place [see table in the next column].

TO STAY EVEN

| *if you got this in 1939* | *you must get this in 1956* |
|---|---|
| $ 1,200 | $ 2,364 |
| 1,800 | 3,840 |
| 2,500 | 5,612 |
| 3,000 | 6,986 |
| 4,000 | 9,467 |
| 5,000 | 12,050 |
| 7,500 | 19,029 |
| 10,000 | 26,435 |
| 15,000 | 46,174 |
| 25,000 | 99,136 |

(This table is calculated for a married couple with two children.)

But why do businessmen complain so bitterly about high corporate income taxes if they pass these taxes to their customers? There are two reasons.

First, high taxes mean high prices; and no businessman likes high prices: lower prices enable him to sell more, keep more men employed and earn more for his company.

Second, high corporate taxes and high prices necessitate a larger working capital to start a new business or expand an old one. This also holds true as to inventory, the investment in tools and equipment, and costs generally. High taxes and high prices require larger working capital; and, for small and medium-sized business, working capital is often the biggest worry.

## *Taxation Unlimited*

These and many other considerations account for growing public interest in a constitutional limit on federal tax rates.

Back in 1938, the Western Tax Council was organized in Chicago to deal precisely with that problem. At that time, no one expected such confiscatory taxation as we have today; still, the Council's founders wanted something done about limiting the government's take from our incomes. After exhaustive research, the group decided that a limit of 25 per cent on income taxes—both personal and corporate—was not unreasonable: it would still allow the federal government to raise enough revenues on which to operate efficiently.

The constitutions of most of our 48 states limit the state's taxing power; forty-three state constitutions even limit the right to borrow. All local governments, by law or charter, operate under restrictions limiting their taxing power in relation to local wealth. *Only the federal taxing power is without limit.*

The figure of 25 per cent as a safe ceiling was based on the discovery that in the late 1920's the top income-tax bracket was 24 per cent, after liberal deductions. At that, Washington had been able to balance the budget; to pay off about one-third of the national debt; and to cancel several billions in loans to foreign countries. If a 24 per cent ceiling allowed all that in the twenties, there is a powerful plausibility to that limit even today.

The Western Tax Council therefore proposed a constitutional amendment *to limit federal income, gift and inheritance taxes to 25 per cent.*

Since then, the Council has persuaded 30 state legislatures to petition Congress for such an amendment. Those states are: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky. Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming. Under Article V of the Constitution, if two-thirds (32) of our states petition it to do so, Congress *must* submit such an amendment to the states for ratification. Then three-quarters, or 36 states, must ratify it if it is to become part of the Constitution. Thus, two more states need to be per-



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suaded in order to get congressional action on the Council's proposal.

The one objection to the Council's proposal is the fear that a limit on federal income-tax rates would cripple federal operations. However, the record shows unequivocally that *higher* tax yields result from *lower* tax rates. The period from 1925 to 1930 is a good example.

| | *Total Internal Revenue Collections* | *Maximum Rate* | *Personal Exemptions* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1925 | $2,584,140,000 | 40% | $2,500 |
| 1926 | 2,836,000,000 | 24% | 3,000 |
| 1927 | 2,865,683,000 | 24% | 3,500 |
| 1928 | 2,790,536,000 | 20% | 3,500 |
| 1929 | 2,939,054,000 | 20% | 3,500 |
| 1930 | 3,040,146,000 | 20% | 3,500 |

In other words, internal revenue for each of the years 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929 and 1930, was greater than the total for 1925 (when *higher rates* prevailed). Moreover, during the entire period the corporation income tax ranged no higher than from 11 to 13.5 per cent. At the same time, tax exemptions for the married taxpayer were increased from $2,000 to $2,500, and to $3,500 in 1927, while credit for each dependent went up from $1,000 to $1,500. Despite all these tax reductions, *the tax yield went up during this period, and the federal debt went down.*

The paradox of larger tax yields on lower tax rates is no puzzle. A tax system which cuts heavily into capital, and into consumer income, thereby reduces the amount of productive labor and capital and, in the long run, lowers the tax yield. On the other hand, a tax system which encourages the use of more money in producing goods and services; which permits more capital for wage-payments, for purchase of machinery and for expansion and sales — such a system results in more tax yield because it stimulates production (which is the only source of all taxes).

## *Factors Offsetting Tax Loss*

Objection to a constitutional limit on income-tax rates is sometimes put in another way: a tax ceiling means a tax cut, it is said, and a 25 per cent ceiling means a large revenue loss.

How much will be "lost" to the federal government if income-tax rates are limited? If the ceiling were 25 per cent (and all other rates scaled down progressively), the annual tax "loss" to the federal government is estimated at $13.3 billion (according to Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey). This assumes that, when taxes are cut, the government really *loses* that much total revenue; and that the government doesn't obtain *additional* revenue from the increased spending by relieved taxpayers. But this assumption, as we have seen, is contrary to the experience of the late 1920's. And another demonstration is at hand.

When Congress cut manufacturers' and retailers' excise taxes early in 1954, the Treasury's estimate was that the revenue loss would amount to $2 billion. But the report of the Internal Revenue Service (comparing actual collections in the twelve-month period from April 1, 1954, to April 1, 1955, with collections in the preceding year when the old, higher rates applied) disproved the estimate rather stunningly. In every instance, the cut in excise rates was accompanied by a rise in sales volume which partially or wholly offset the direct tax loss. For example, on electric, gas and oil home appliances (except air conditioners), a cut from 10 to 5 per cent in the manufacturers' excise tax produced a sales *gain* of $217,530,000. Or, to cite another example, with a cut in taxes from 15 to 10 per cent on local phone service, the dollar volume of the phone traffic rose by $447,610,000.

The Treasury predicted a $2 billion tax loss. But the actual direct tax loss was under $600 million — less than a third of the estimate.

Yet was there really a tax *loss?* When annual sales of the differently taxed items went from $10 billion to $14 billion, immediately after taxes were cut, obviously more people were being employed in the production and distribution of these commodities; and more wages and profits were being earned. Thus, taxes on these new activities undoubtedly made up for the $600 million direct loss on lowered excise taxes.

Critics of the tax-ceiling proposal sometimes shift their ground. True, they say, in the long run a tax cut or a tax ceiling may not really lead to a loss in government revenue. But won't such a cut decrease governmental income *at the start?* Yet we cannot currently afford to curtail federal spending, we are told, for this will send the country into a tailspin.

The best rejoinder to this argument appeared recently in Henry Hazlitt's *Newsweek* column. On October 3, 1955, Mr. Hazlitt pointed to the fallacious assumption

> . . . . that the future of business activity at this time depends primarily on the government's defense spending. . . . The fallacy consists in looking only at the government's defense payments and forgetting that the money for these comes ultimately from taxes. . . . If defense payments suddenly dropped from the present $50 billion a year to only $10 billion, taxes could also be cut by $40 billion. Then the taxpayers . . . . would have $40 billion more to spend than they had before. . . . There is no reason to suppose that the over-all volume of output or activity would decline.

To clinch the argument, Mr. Hazlitt cited the figures:

> In the fiscal year 1944, the federal government spent $95 billion; in the fiscal year 1947 it spent $39 billion. Here was a drop in the annual federal spending rate in this three-year period of $56 billion. Yet, far from there being a recession in this three-year period, there was a substantial increase in employment, wages and prices. . . . A particularly hardy myth has once more got a crushing factual exposure.

## *Possible Government Savings*

All students of the Hoover Commission report agree that, if its administrative and legislative proposals were made effective, the federal government would save as much as $7.5 billion annually.

For example, a task force of the Commission studied the government's legal services and found that the Veterans Administration had more than 800 superfluous lawyers on its legal staff. The primary purpose of that staff was to handle guardianship service. But the need for this service had largely disappeared because 45 states had passed a uniform guardianship law. And the elimination of most of



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this superfluous service would save $7 million annually. Or, to cite another example, the government's bill for food and clothing could be pared by $340 million (another expert report found) through installation of unified, efficient management and tighter inventory controls.

The Hoover Commission reports, which propose $7.5 billion annual savings, are not the only exposés of federal waste of tax money. The House Appropriations Committee pointed out in 1950 "that most agencies of government are overstaffed." The Army Corps of Engineers' river-and-harbors projects were accused of conduct "bordering on profligacy" in "continuing to commit the government to the expenditure of funds far in excess of amounts contemplated by the Congress either at the time of the original authorization of the projects or at the time funds were appropriated for initiation of construction." The Bureau of Standards was accused of spending $1,000 an acre to maintain its lawns and landscapes "whereas costs of over $100 per acre are considered excessive." Discussing efficiency in the Post Office Department, the report voiced the belief that "sizable savings" could be made by using more machinery in many operations. According to the House Appropriations Committee, some of the biggest holes through which tax money is going down the drain are to be found in the Veterans Administration, in agriculture, housing and public power.

And yet, there is always great sobbing whenever anyone suggests a cut in federal expenditures. The commonest complaint is that such cuts will affect our national security; and, if true, this would be a serious argument. One hears a great deal about how the current budget is dominated by national defense and the protection of peace; by contrast, the scope of government spending for all other purposes is minimized.

But the fact is that the upward trend in non-defense expenditures is quite pronounced [see table, next column].

The Western Tax Council believes —and evidently 30 state legislatures agree—that the best way to bring about an increased national income, with resultant larger and more stable federal revenues, is to limit income tax rates by constitutional amendment.

Such an amendment is now before Congress, and hearings were held by a Senate Judiciary subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Senator William Langer, in April 1954. At that time, the proponents laid before Congress the arguments in favor of their petition. The Senators present were manifestly impressed by the arguments, but the closing days of the congressional session were monopolized by the Army-McCarthy TV hearings. As a result, recommendations on the bill were then postponed. New hearings will be held in Washington shortly.

The amendment is known as the Reed-Dirksen Amendment. It was introduced in January 1953 by Congressman Chauncey W. Reed and Senator Everett Dirksen (H. J. Res. 103; S. J. Res. 23). The amendment limits federal income taxes to a maximum rate of 25 per cent but permits Congress, *by a vote of three-fourths of the members of each House,* to exceed that rate at any time without limit. If the top rate is to exceed 25 per cent, however, it can never be more than 15 percentage points above the bottom rate. For example, if the bottom rate were 15 per cent, the top rate could not exceed 30 per cent; if the bottom rate were 20 per cent, the top rate could not exceed 35 per cent. But as long as the top rate does not exceed 25 per cent, *there is no restriction at all on the bottom rate.* (It could, for example, be 1 per cent, or ½ of 1 per cent). This provision would make every taxpayer want to keep the top rate down to 25 per cent (as compared with the present rate of 87 per cent); and to keep the bottom rate no higher than 10 per cent (as compared with the present bottom rate of 20 per cent).

The proposed amendment does not prescribe the top rate that Congress may impose in emergencies. Hence, it cannot be argued that the amendment impairs the government's power to raise *needed* revenue during either war or peace. However, by tying the top and bottom rates together, it cements the united self-interest of all taxpayers — a force which could keep tax rates within reasonable bounds.

COST OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
(*Except* for national defense, aid abroad, aid for veterans, and interest on the public debt.)

| *Fiscal Year* | *Billions* |
|---|---|
| 1947 | $ 5,737 |
| 1948 | 4,632 |
| 1949 | 8,198 |
| 1950 | 9,389 |
| 1951 | 6,665 |
| 1952 | 7,383 |
| 1953 | 10,386 |
| 1954 | 8,240 |
| 1955 | 10,579 |
| 1956 | 11,264 |
| 1957 (Proposed budget) | 11,400 |

## *Benefits for Average Taxpayer*

Who stands to gain most by such tax limitation? Obviously, rich men will gain. Would the average taxpayer benefit?

Under a 25 per cent tax ceiling, the progressive principle will still operate. If the top bracket is then 25 per cent, the rates will be scaled all the way down to 1 per cent for people with the lowest incomes. The amendment is based on the expectation that all income-tax rates will be graded down proportionately. In addition, lower income taxes would mean lower prices on manufactured goods; and that is of vast importance to every man supporting a family.

That average man has given some thought to this proposal. In September 1951, the Gallup Poll tried to find out how many people favored a 25 per cent income-tax limit. The result: 59 per cent were for it, 31 per cent opposed; and 10 per cent without opinion. In July 1952, the Gallup Poll took another look. That later result: 68 per cent now favored the idea; 25 per cent opposed it, and only 7 per cent had no opinion.

Thirty states are already backing the Western Tax Council's proposed amendment. But there is still a long way to go before the amendment becomes constitutional law. And the length of the road depends entirely on how many voters write and talk to state and federal legislators. (Those who wish to find out what work is required, may write to the Western Tax Council at 38 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 3, Illinois).



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# The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

### *The Prodigals Return*

Gilbert Green is one of the leaders of the American Communist Party who were tried before Judge Medina under the Smith Act, convicted and sentenced to prison. As his final appeal was being turned down in 1951, Green jumped bail and disappeared. On February 24 he sent the metropolitan newspapers a letter that announced his return to the overground.

"The reason I am taking this step," he wrote, "is that the main trend of the nation is no longer toward a new world war and McCarthyism. . . . New political winds are blowing. These give hope that the curtain of fear behind which democratic liberties were undermined and destroyed will be lifted. They also give reason for confidence that the day is not far off when the political rights of Communists will be restored." He commented also on his own heroic behavior, and advertised his book, *The Enemy Forgotten,* written in order "to deepen the current trend away from McCarthyism and war."

At noon on February 27 Green arrived by taxi at the Federal Courthouse, Foley Square, New York, where a crowd of comrades and reporters had gathered to cheer and interview him. Amid fanfare, he commented, according to the *Daily Worker,* on the problem of force and violence:

"To a question as to whether the Communists advocated 'force and violence,' Green replied that the Communists 'are interested in socialism' by the majority action of the people and by a path to be determined by the American people.

"When a reporter persisted, Green said that 'if there is any violence in America it will be perpetrated by the reactionary forces, not by the Communist Party.' "

He was finally taken into custody.

Exactly a week later, a second Communist fugitive, Henry Winston, went through a similar performance. In his preliminary letter, Winston stated that he entered "prison with confidence that the American people will defeat the McCarthys and Eastlands," and "will put an end to the Smith, McCarran and other anti-democratic laws," and will soon "understand the harm of anti-Communism."

### *Arm of Coincidence*

These little episodes at Foley Square were scenes from a vast drama now being produced on the world stage. Moscow puppet-masters pulled the strings attached to Green and Winston. Khrushchev, in standard double-talk, explained the moral of the play:

"The forces of peace have grown considerably. . . .The Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence was, and remains, the general line of our country's foreign policy . . . New prospects have also opened up with regard to the transition of countries and nations to socialism. It is not obligatory for the implementation of those forms [of the transition to socialism] to be connected with civil war in all circumstances. . . .The working class has the possibility of gaining a firm majority in parliament [which] would bring about conditions insuring the implementation of fundamental social transformations."

Four days after Khrushchev spoke, Alan Max, at present chief doctrinal spokesman for the American party, was applying his formulas to the American situation. Max insists that the American Communist Party is, and ought to be treated as, a legal, constitutional party. "The Marxists' belief in the parliamentary transition to socialism under certain conditions, should make it clear that the charge of 'conspiring to advocate the duty and necessity' of forceful overthrow is a deliberate frame-up. This is true both of the Smith Act and of the McCarran Internal Security Act."

At the opposite side of the world, a petition was filed in Manila asking authorization for the open organization of the Philippine Communist Party. A few weeks ago in Malaysia, representatives of the Communist jungle guerrillas came into the open to negotiate for legal recognition. In Brazil the nominally illegal Communists have demanded official recognition from the new President, Juscelino Kubitschek. In Greece the Communists, who like their comrades in Malaysia and the Philippines were a short time ago fighting mass civil wars, have gained legal status under the name of the United Democratic Left.

### *Just Another Party*

These diverse moves are designed to secure psychological, moral and legal acceptance of the Communist enterprise as a normal, legitimate political party alike in kind to other political parties, and therefore entitled to the same rights and privileges. In this renewed effort the Communists have no reason for discouragement. Most non-Communists either cannot learn the truth about Communism or will not face it. They refuse to credit the multitudinous evidence proving that the Communist enterprise has nothing significant in common with other political parties, that it is an *outlaw* movement functioning to destroy and replace the established forms of civilization.

Alan Max and his master, Khrushchev, do not bother to hide their meaning very deeply. There need be no violence, they reasonably enough explain, provided that the victims are willing to submit peacefully. If there is resistance, then naturally the enemy must be crushed. So Khrushchev: "The use or not of force in the transition to socialism depends on the extent of the resistance put up by the exploiters. Of course in countries where capitalism is still strong . . . the serious resistance of the reactionary forces is inevitable. There the transition to socialism will proceed amid conditions of an acute class revolutionary struggle."

This campaign for *legitimization* is at the core of the present strategy both of the Soviet Government and of the world Communist enterprise. The Communists are right in their estimate of the importance of the objective. An outlaw, however dangerous, can be dealt with when branded and known. But we have no protection if we receive him as one of the family.



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# The Middle East: Balkans of the World

**A well-known British Conservative sees the anarchy in the Middle East, and the Soviet irruption into the area, as the result of Anglo-American rivalry**

JULIAN AMORY, M.P.

The problems of the Middle East formed the centerpiece of the talks between the President and the Prime Minister several weeks ago. Small wonder! The anarchy of the region makes it, indeed, what the Balkans used to be: the cockpit of the struggle for world power—an area in which local passions, already violent enough, are inflamed and exploited by rival great powers contending for its control.

"The East," wrote Lord Curzon, "is a university where the scholar never takes his degree." True; but the following description of what is happening in the Middle East, though admittedly oversimplified, is near enough the truth to illustrate the general pattern.

Egypt and Iraq are struggling against one another for leadership of the Arab world. The present Egyptian regime relies on the support of the U. S. The government of Iraq looks rather to Britain.

A long-standing feud divides the Hashemite dynasties in Iraq and Jordan from the royal house of Saudi Arabia. Behind the Saudi Arabian throne stands the American oil interest of ARAMCO. The Iraqi regime is largely financed from royalties paid by British-managed oil companes. The government of Jordan receives a direct subsidy from the British taxpayer. Its army is officered and trained by Englishmen.

These two main groups—Egypt and Saudi Arabia, on the one hand, and Iraq and Jordan, on the other—contend for the dominant influence of Syria and Lebanon. Here the interplay of forces is further complicated by French policies, designed to maintain the French connection with the Levant states, and by a growing Communist movement directed from the Soviet Embassy in Beirut.

To the south, Egypt has sought and failed to annex the Sudan. Deep suspicion remains between the two countries. At present it is mainly focused on the issue of the division of the Nile waters. Egypt aspires to build a new dam at Aswan which would bring a substantial area of land under cultivation. This can only be done with Sudanese cooperation; for the project involves the flooding of several Sudanese villages and agreement by the Sudanese not to dam the river further upstream. It is far from clear whether such agreement will be forthcoming. The Sudanese population is growing too and the new self-governing state may well believe that the Sudanese need the water for themselves. Here again, there are signs that British and American influence may be exercised in opposite directions.

On only one matter is there any semblance of unity among Arab countries. This is in their common hostility to Israel—a hostility kept alive by the existence of six to eight hundred thousand Arab refugees from Palestine.

Over and above these local rivalries and tensions, the last few months have witnessed two events of major international significance.

The region around the Buraimi Oasis and along the borders of Oman has seen what can only be described as an Anglo-American shooting war. There have, of course, been no British or American casualties. But there has been regular fighting, though on a small scale, between Saudi Arabian troops, paid for by ARAMCO, and Muscat levies, trained, subsidized and in some cases officered, by Britain.

The other development has been a logical consequence of the growing divergence between British and American policies, throughout the Middle East. The Soviet Union has made use of this divergence to project its own influence into the region. The first step has been the Egyptian decision to buy arms from Czechoslovakia. It is being followed by negotiations between several Arab states and the Soviet Union, Poland and other Soviet satellites for economic agreements. Poland, for instance, is negotiating a contract for the continuation of the Hezaz railway to Medina. Russia, which had been excluded from the Middle East for centuries, first by Turkish and then by British policy, is now a major factor in Middle Eastern politics.

## *Western Rivalries*

The anarchy prevailing in the Middle East and the Soviet irruption into it, are direct consequences of the unrestrained rivalries of the Western powers. The wartime clash between France and Britain in Syria and Lebanon was the curtain-raiser for subsequent Anglo-American differences in the Middle East and Franco-American differences in North Africa. Next came the dispute between the United States and Britain over Palestine, leading in 1948 to Mr. Bevin's decision to throw up the Mandate. The result must, in retrospect, be regarded as the worst of all possible solutions—a war involving heavy casualties, hundreds of thousands of refugees, and a continuing legacy of bitterness which has led both Israelis and Arabs to spend more money and effort than either can afford on their defenses.

The Anglo-American dispute over Palestine was followed in 1950 by a sharp difference over the Mossadegh government's decision to nationalize the Persian oil fields and the refinery at Abadan. The British Government was prepared to defend its rights, if necessary by force. The State Department sought by every means to restrain Britain, while some American circles openly sympathized with Dr. Mossadegh. In the end, Britain yielded



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to United States pressure and surrendered the oil fields and the refinery. Since then, it is true, Britain and the United States together have succeeded in reopening the refinery at Abadan. The oil is flowing again, but Britain has only recovered half her former interest in it. She has, thus, been driven to recoup her losses by more vigorous expansion elsewhere. Meanwhile British public opinion has become deeply suspicious of American policy in the Middle East, while the Middle Eastern peoples themselves have had their eyes opened to the opportunities for driving wedges between the Western powers.

These differences between American and British policies in the Middle East were further accentuated in 1953 by the demands of the Egyptian military Junta that Britain withdraw her troops from the Suez Canal Zone. At each stage in the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations that followed, the positions taken up by the British negotiators were outflanked by the action of the United States. Every time a breakdown threatened because the British said they had reached the utmost limit of concession, the United States came forward with compromise proposals involving further concessions to the Egyptian point of view. In the last analysis, American pressure was a more potent factor than all Colonel Nasser's gunmen in forcing the British Army out of the Suez Canal Zone.

American policy planners may have hoped that American economic power would fill the vacuum left in Egypt by the withdrawal of British troops. So far this hope has not been realized. Dollars will, no doubt, be sucked into the Nile Valley, and in substantial quantities, but they will not be the only influence. The Soviets have got their foot firmly in the door, with arms contracts and offers of nuclear cooperation; and it will not be easy to limit their operations, still less to get them out. Meanwhile, the immediate consequences of the Suez agreement elsewhere in the Middle East have been uniformly disastrous. The Greek Government, believing Britain to be "on the run," has been tempted to revive its ancient but long dormant claim to Cyprus. In so doing it has undermined the Greek alliance with Turkey, broken up the Balkan Pact, and created a fresh trouble spot. Britain, driven from Egypt, has sought a new basis for her Middle Eastern influence in the Baghdad Pact; thus deepening the existing rift between Egypt and Iraq, and setting up a new potential source of friction in Anglo-American relations.

It is not the purpose of this article to pass judgment on the respective merits of United States and British policies in the Middle East. British weakness has contributed at least as much as American blindness to the present situation; and it is at least arguable whether the readiness of successive British governments to yield to U. S. pressure has been as damaging to the general interests of the free world as to the particular interests of the British Commonwealth. Be this as it may, two things can be said with some certainty. First, that the main cause of the present chaos in the Middle East has been—irrespective of who was right or wrong—the fact that Britain and the U.S. have pursued divergent policies; second, that the existing situation cannot be allowed to deteriorate much further without grave and possibly fatal consequences for the free world.

On both sides of the Atlantic, therefore, it is high time that we asked the question: Has the time come for the United States and Britain to substitute cooperation for rivalry?

Before we can answer, we must first make up our minds what is at stake in the Middle East, and what are the dangers that confront American and British interests there.

## *British and U.S. Interests*

For Britain, the Middle East is the crossroads of the world. The sea and air communications linking Britain, Canada, the West Indies and West Africa (the western half of the Commonwealth) to New Zealand, Australia, Malaya, Pakistan and East Africa (the eastern half) run through or over the Middle East. For Britain, too, as indeed for France and Belgium, the Middle East is also the gateway into Africa, and particularly to French North Africa, to the Sudan, and to Moslem Nigeria, all of which have a long connection with the Arab world. Finally, from the British and European point of view, the Middle East is the one major source of non-dollar oil, and this is an age when the British and West European economies depend for their solvency and expansion on oil as much as on coal.

For Americans, the Middle East, no doubt, seems more remote. It is significant that American Mercator's projection maps of the world show the North and South American continents at the center of the map with the Middle East on the extreme east or right-hand edge. In Britain and on the European continent, maps of the world generally show the Middle East at the center, with the American continents and Australia forming the western and eastern extremes.

This difference in cartography is natural: but in trying to assess which version corresponds more closely to the political reality of today, it is pertinent to ask:



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What is the Soviet view? Seen from Moscow—from near the center of what Halford Mackinder called "the world island"—the Middle East is very much the heart of the matter. If the Soviets could lay hands on it, they would gain access at one blow to the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, and the approaches to the African continent.

This prospect raises another question: Can the U.S. afford the disruption of the British Commonwealth system which would follow from the loss of the Middle East—or the weakening of Europe that would follow the extension of Soviet influence to Africa?

If the vital importance of the Middle East and North Africa to the Western world be once accepted, if it be agreed that its security is as important to the U.S. as to Britain and France, the next question to ask is: What are the dangers threatening Western interests in the region?

The "hydrogen stalemate," with its implication that "there ain't gonna be no war," applies to the Middle East as much as to Europe. There must, of course, still be some organization to prevent such piecemeal acts of aggression. This is a primary function of the Baghdad Pact. The main danger, however, is not so much of direct military aggression as of an alliance between Communism and Arab nationalism. Here Egypt is the key.

In recent times there has been a tendency to underestimate the military and political importance of the Egyptians. No doubt the closing years of the Egyptian monarchy and the disasters of the Palestine War lent some color to this view. Yet all through history, whether under foreign or local rulers, Egypt has been by far the most dynamic element in the Middle East, by virtue of its poputon, its industry, its wealth and its culture. The Land of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies was also the base from which Pompey and Mark Antony, in turn, challenged the power of Rome. It was the Egyptian foot and Egyptian administration which made good the Arab conquest of North Africa and Spain. Even in the last century, the history of the Middle East was mainly the story of the struggle between the Sultan in Constantinople and his powerful vassal the Khedive of Egypt; a struggle which led for a time to the creation of an Egyptian Empire which stretched from Lake Victoria on the Equator to Kuwait on the Persian Gulf.

Just as, in the days before the Aswan Dam was built, the rains of tropical Africa, every few years, would swell the Nile into widespread floods, so (at recurrent intervals) the pressure of popluation on the means of subsistence has driven the Egyptians into expansion. We are witnessing this natural phenomenon today. Egypt is subject to fearful economic pressures and social tensions. All the additional land which the High Dam will irrigate, if it be built, will scarcely compensate for the increase in Egypt's population which will have taken place while it is building. Yet, all the time, the schools and universities are pouring out a fanatically nationalist intelligentsia. Some find employment at home in Egypt. A few go out to other Arab countries as teachers or officials. For many there is no settled employment at all. Nor can there be much constructive leadership. Centuries of foreign rule—Mameluke, Turkish, British—have so distorted the pattern of social development that there is no indigenous ruling class, or group, or party, strong and stable enough to control the forces boiling up inside the country, and to force through essential reforms.

So long as Britain was in Egypt, the problem was of little international significance. British power was a sufficient support for the Egyptian government of the day; and social and economic reforms could be undertaken without provoking serious explosions. But since the British left Cairo after the war, every Egyptian government—whether of the Palace, the WAFD, or the Army—has been forced to seek relief from intractable domestic problems by agitating against foreign countries and even embarking on foreign adventure. Here is the root cause of the Palestine War; the intrigues in the Sudan; the terrorist campaign against Britain in the Suez Canal Zone; the campaign against the Baghdad Pact; and the support given to the North African guerrilla movement against France.

Egypt's foreign policy is as much a reflection of her internal difficulties as of her external aspirations, but the latter are no less real for that. The military Junta now in power in Egypt are determined to be the leaders of the Middle East and North Africa, as well as the masters of the Nile Valley. How are their ambitions to be reconciled with the interests of the Western powers?

## *Dangers of Supporting Egypt*

At first sight it might seem attractive to Britain and the United States to give full support to the present Egyptian Government, and back them to become the leaders of the Middle East. Such a policy, however, would embroil both powers in endless difficulties with some of their best friends; with France in North Africa; with Turkey and Iraq over the Baghdad Pact; with the dynasty in Jordan; with the Nationalists in the Sudan; and with Israel and world Jewry. Nor is there any assurance that the game would be worth the candle. An Egyptian-led Middle East might conceivably throw in its lot with the Western world; but it might equally be tempted to follow the path of neutralism; and it may even run the risks of falling under Soviet influence.

What then should be the policy of the Western powers toward Egypt? On any calculation, it would be very dangerous to give all-out support to the Nasser regime. Yet plainly it would also be dangerous to withhold support altogether. If we did, the Egyptian Government might turn to the Soviets: and the Czech-Egyptian arms deal has already shown that they know how.

There is no sure way out of the dilemma facing the Western powers. Of course, if Egypt should fall too far under Communist or anti-Western influence, we might have no choice but to reoccupy the Suez Canal Zone, though this time it would have to be a joint venture like the overthrow of Dr. Mossadegh and the reopening of the refinery at Abadan.

To establish a true balance of power in the Middle East must now be the first aim of the Western powers. But no such system will prove stable unless it also provides for a permanent settlement between the Arab states and Israel. So long as the present so-called "state of war" continues, there will be dangerous opportunities



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for ill-intentioned elements to fish in troubled waters. The essential conditions of peace remain the resettlement of the Arab refugees and the grant by Israel to Jordan of economic facilities such as a free port of Haifa and free transit rights through Israel. It may also be that Jordan will demand certain territorial concessions as the price of a settlement. This may be practicable within certain limits, though Israel can hardly be expected to yield ground which would weaken her ability to defend herself or to become more independent economically. The Egyptian leaders have argued that Israel should withdraw from parts of the Negeb, including the Red Sea port of Elath. From a Jordanian point of view, however, territorial concessions in the fertile regions further north would be of greater value in solving the problem of the refugees. It is, in any case, doubtful whether any major Western interest would be served by linking Jordan and Egypt territorially.

There remains the vexed question of how to reconcile Anglo-American differences over oil. Any lasting solution of this problem must provide for the maintenance of existing spheres of interest and a fair agreement about the division of those areas where no concessions have as yet been granted. Where differences between the companies prove irreconcilable, a solution could perhaps be found by establishing mixed companies with a fifty-fifty Anglo-United States holding.

In one respect, the U.S. may have to consider a change in what has become a traditional attitude. The oil companies have wrought major economic and social revolutions in the Arab states where they operate. This raises the question whether the countries to which these companies belong should accept some responsibility for the political consequences of these revolutions. In Iraq and in the Persian Gulf, Britain has sought to guide and influence the way in which the rulers and governments concerned have spent their new-found wealth. The U.S. has not followed this course in Saudi Arabia. On the contrary they have treated the payment of the royalities as purely a business affair, and have accepted no responsibility for the way in which those royalties have been spent by the Saudi Arabian Government. Such an attitude, no doubt, conforms with American prejudice against "colonialism." But, for the Middle East—and, indeed, for Western polity—it has meant the emergence of a Frankenstein without a master.

But the policies suggested here—or, for that matter, any other policies for the Middle East—will fail unless genuine Anglo-American cooperation takes the place of the divergence of policies which has grown even sharper in the last ten years. Cooperation involves a great deal more than consultation. Like friendship, its first principle must be to stand by your friend even when you think he is wrong, and never to try to advance your own interest at his expense. If Anglo-American cooperation in the Middle East and American-British cooperation in the Far East were conducted on this principle, the free world would be stronger and safer than it is today.

Lenin always held that the imperialist powers would be found incapable of resolving their differences, and that these differences would provide Communism with its opportunities for expansion. So far, the history of Anglo-American relations both in the Far East and in the Middle East has justified the Soviet leader's forecast. We still just have time to prove him wrong. Have we got the will?

# ON THE LEFT . . . C. B. R.

**Scientist on the Loose.** Speaking before the House Government Information Subcommittee, atomic scientist Harold C. Urey made known to the world (and to Soviet Military Intelligence) a "good guess" that the United States has about 35,000 atom bombs. He did not state by what authority he had divulged this vital information. By the way, despite the fact that he has admitted being "an amateur in these matters of law," Urey has considered himself competent to decide that injustice was done in the Rosenberg-Sobell spy trial. In a letter to the *New York Times*, Herbert Bayard Swope has described Professor Urey's attitude both in relation to law and to matters of public policy as follows: "The explanation does not lie in the superiority of his opinion nor that of his fellows. It lies in the curious belief that certain types of scientists are laws unto themselves . . . I think that Dr. Urey's utterance was incendiary."

**Secrecy and Security.** Gerard Piel, scion of the wealthy Piel family of brewing interests, and publisher of *Scientific American*, has assailed what he calls "the fallacy of national security through secrecy" in his appearance before the House Government Information Subcommittee. Mr. Piel had previously attacked the Atomic Energy Commission for its decision that 3,000 copies of an issue of *Scientific American* should be burned because of the magazine's refusal to delete portions of an article by Dr. Hans Bethe, Professor of Physics at Cornell University and a contract consultant to the Commission. The Commission held that the article involved a "security question as to technical content" and that the magazine must "withhold from publication the technical part of the article." Another issue of *Scientific American* has derided the notion that real security matters were involved in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial.

**Informers, Good and Bad.** Russell C. Harrington of the Internal Revenue Department has just announced that the government paid rewards of $602,817 to 576 "informers" who apprised the Revenue Department of tax evasions amounting to $7,000,000. To date these informers have been spared such scathing denunciation accorded anti-Communist informers as the following by Edward A. Shils, Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago: "Wretched ex-Communists, who for years played with fantasies of destroying American society and harming their fellow citizens, having fallen out with their equally villainous comrades, now provide a steady stream of information and misinformation about the extent to which Communists, as coherent and stable in character as themselves, penetrated and plotted to subvert American institutions."



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# THE WORLD VIEWS THE US

FREDA UTLEY

**The United States** receives little or no credit abroad from giving away large slices of the national product instead of either consuming it or saving it. Or so it would seem, to judge from the majority of foreign press comment and monitored radio commentaries. The exceptions—meaning favorable comment on America and American policy—usually come from those who have received comparatively little from the U. S., but would seem to appreciate it more than the "allies" upon whom America has showered billions of dollars.

Thus, for instance, it was neither London nor Paris, but Madrid, which made the most telling comment on the contrast between the reality of American gifts and the mirage of Soviet Russia's promises. In its program beamed to Latin America, Radio Madrid told the Latin Americans on December 20 last that:

> Although it seems odd, in the struggle between charity and noise the latter is scoring notable successes, so that it behooves those who have really been generous to find out why their justifiable methods have produced inferior results.

The reasons why are not far to seek. Part of the answer was supplied in a speech made in Iran's Parliament on December 21 by Senator Jemel Emami, who said that although Persians are all grateful for U.S. aid, it would seem that other nations which "prefer blackmail" have secured more of it. "We have not deviated from truth and sincerity," said the Iranian Senator, "we joined their bloc to safeguard their interests, but they do not give us anything for it; while they offer four hundred million dollars to those who colluded with their opponents and are forming an opposition bloc."

The *Manchester Guardian* supplies another, or additional, explanation for America's failure to benefit from its assumption of the role of Atlas in supporting the free, or civilized, world against Communist barbarism. In an editorial published in its weekly edition of February 16, it quotes from a booklet published by the Japanese Economic Planning Board, which says that although the United States has made far larger loans to backward countries than the Soviet Union, American aid has been ineffectual, and has aroused resentment and distrust among the recipients because self-respecting nations naturally prefer trade to aid.

Thus Russia reaps benefits by "portraying itself as the Great Power which genuinely needs to buy raw materials from the Asian countries, and has with them a coincidence of interests." Moscow, continues the *Guardian* editorial, is applauded because it is supposed that hard-pressed Russia, "in making efforts to assist other countries, must make great sacrifices," while the United States, a very rich country, "is hardly touched at home by its generosity abroad."

**In the political** as in the economic sphere the American endeavor to win friends and influence people by boundless generosity seems only to bring us into contempt. Thus in respect to the dangerous situation in the Middle East, with the Arabs on one side and France and Israel on the other, we have now got ourselves into the unenviable situation of being regarded by both sides as an enemy, thanks to our effort to help everyone in defiance of the logic of the situation. So while the French in Tunisia were wrecking our Consulate and the U.S. Information Service library, on account of "American pro-nationalist and anti-colonial sympathies and activities," the radio and newspapers of the free Arab countries were denouncing us as imperialists seeking to maintain Western domination of the Middle East. Similarly the Baghdad Pact, designed to resist Communist aggression against the "Northern tier" of Moslem countries, is denounced by Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia as a Western "imperialist" plot to enforce Arab recognition of Israel within its present boundaries, drawn in defiance of the 1947 UN resolutions.

For the first time in many years British and Zionist influences in America are pulling in opposite directions, the former being in favor of conciliating the Arab states, the latter for all-out aid to Israel. Hence the significance of the *Economist's* editorial on February 3, which praised Dulles for having "appealed to politicians to avoid confirming the Arab suspicion that, in the last resort, America will always cater to the Jewish vote."

**Concerning our domestic politics** the British press is almost unanimous in expressing satisfaction that Eisenhower will run again, and in its estimate of his Republican Administration as a better, or more acceptable, version of the New, or Fair, Deal in home and foreign policy. Nixon, on the other hand, is described by the *Manchester Guardian* as "anathema to the Western allies," no doubt on account of his uncompromising hostility to Communism at home and abroad.

A recent issue of the *Economist*, in its first article, entitled "Eisenhower Rides Again," expresses the general British view, saying:

> The past three years have seen, under President Eisenhower's influence, the retreat of the old Republican right wing and the continuation of the effective parts, economic and social, of the so-called fair deal of the Democrats. Just as in Britain the great change has been the conversion of the Conservative party to the premises of the welfare state, so in the United States has Eisenhower Republicanism meant the maintenance of a policy contrived to guard against the ill-effects of poverty, misfortune and unemployment . . . In foreign affairs too . . . the United States has accepted a responsibility for the well-being and security of the world in proportion to American power.

All this would be fine and good were it not for the subsequent remarks made by the *Economist* concerning the need for United States policy to become "more flexible"—which seems to mean more amenable to British influence or more prepared for an appeasement deal with the rulers of the Soviet Empire in Europe and China. Hence the ominous significance of the remark made by the *Economist* that President Eisenhower "has been, and may be again, more successful in cooperation with Democratic leaders of Congress than with Republican majorities."



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# THE IVORY TOWER

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

**A member of the faculty,** no less, of a small college in the West has forwarded material relevant to NATIONAL REVIEW's investigation into indoctrinational activities in American colleges. The document in question is a sociology "workbook."

An incredible amount of mischief goes on under the general franchise of sociology, much of it terribly elusive, windy and amorphous. One has to struggle, among other things, with a strange and terrifying and tirelessly abundant jargon. (In sociology "social" is spelled "societal," and the antonym of "privilege" is "disprivilege"). But above all, the field of study seems to suffer from the inability of a number of brilliant men and women to impose on it any discipline, or scope. With the result that sociology is about everything; and, almost everywhere, it is a great favorite with students, who like to be led from a discussion of Tasmanian sex habits to discussions of mannerisms of Newport Upper-Upper Class society, all in a single course.

The excerpts reproduced below will, under the circumstances, appear to be rather diffuse, and some of them almost irrelevant. We hope those more deeply interested in techniques of indoctrination will have a look at Prentice Hall's new *Workbook in Introductory Sociology,* by John H. Burma, of Grinnell College, and W. Marshon DePoister, of William Mills College.

The *Workbook* was published last year, and is composed of twenty units, each of which declares a "purpose," gives a "conceptual Analysis," and asks, at the end of the section, a list of questions designed to probe the student's mastery of the problem. (The correct answers are furnished to the instructor, in a separate booklet.)

The first eyecatcher in the book appears in a section called "Groups," one of whose purposes it is to demonstrate that groups are not necessarily composed of persons with common backgrounds. To illustrate the point, it is suggested that a class discussion take place under the proposition, "Franklin D. Roosevelt came from a very wealthy family, yet he was constantly waging a battle in behalf of 'the common man.' How would you explain this phenomenon?" (p. 26) (The Answer Book does not undertake to explain this one, presumably because the answer is so obvious.)

It is to be recalled that, in our society, status counts for a great deal. This is necessarily so "in a society such as ours, where the system of remuneration, which is so important, is nonrational. . . ." (p. 31) With the passing of the frontier, and with rapid industrialization, class fluidity has come more or less to an end, "and there now exists a fairly large (possibly 5 per cent) upper class which controls most of the wealth of the nation and whose membership is more and more determined by hereditary factors, particularly the hereditary control of wealth and the enjoyment of such advantages and perquisites as wealth may bring." (p. 32)

If any student is unconvinced by the author's reasoning, he is presumably brought around by sheer rank-pulling. The student must write *"True"* or *"False"* after the proposition "Class is primarily a tool for sociological study rather than an objective reality"—and the answer is, simply, *False,* as anyone with access to the Answer Book can verify. (Some additional topics for General Discussion: "What are the basic differences between the bourgeois [*sic*] and the proletariat?" "Give a series of illustrations of Veblen's 'conspicuous consumption' " . . . "Write a short paper a) describing the class system in the United States in 2055 and b) explaining how it got that way in terms of present trends.")

**The section on** "Cooperation, Competition and Conflict" begins with definitions: "When people strive together for common goals, their behavior is called *cooperation.* When they work against one another, their conduct is labeled as *competition* or *opposition.*" "On one specific score, one group is competitive; on precisely the same score another group of people may be cooperative. It is difficult for the average American to conceive of anyone's wanting to give away all of his property, yet there are cultures where this strange custom is practiced—and no one in that culture thinks it is strange at all!" Utopian communities "have not been successful and have lasted only a few months or years. This brings up an interesting speculation: Is man so *naturally* competitive and selfish that complete cooperation is impossible? . . . Some scholars . . . claim that part of the reason for the excessive number of neurotic personalities of our time is that we have made competition a kind of fetish in American life. This," of course, "also is an interesting idea for speculation and research." (p. 64)

Though it would not seem that the discussion needs to go very far. For on p. 66 one learns that the proposition that "It is more 'natural' for human beings to express the competitive spirit than the cooperative spirit" —is *False.*

Suggested discussion topics:

"Suppose you were to change your residence from United States to Sweden. Do you think you could adjust readily to their system of business in which a considerable amount of commerce is carried on through cooperatives?"

"Which type of economic system would you rather live under, a competitive or cooperative? Why?"

"Make a report on 'strikes' as a means of effecting cooperation out of competition."

"Why is race prejudice likely to be fostered by economic competition? Cite some definite examples."

The final "problem and project," designed, perhaps, for the romantic student who harbors notions about leading an uncooperative life (and isn't even aware of the mechanical obstacles that confront him): "Set up an hypothetical program by which you might enter the competition of making automobiles." (pp. 67-69)

Some True-False situations:

"The regulation of economic activities by the group is not new but is very old."

"The distribution of ability curve and the distribution of income curve are equivalent curves."

*(Continued on p. 24)*



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# *In Defense of John Stuart Mill*

FRANK S. MEYER

It is an unfortunate result of the quasi-monopoly of the major organs of discussion held by the collectivist Liberals for the past generation, that those who hold to the great tradition of Western civilization have been deprived of the means to carry on the dialectic between the different strands of that tradition. Inhibited by the lack of a forum, and also by an understandable reluctance to divert energy from the primary endeavor of resisting the marshalled hosts of error, we have tended to gloss over differences, the clarification of which can only strengthen our common purpose and enrich the tradition for which we stand.

For that tradition is not a monolithic "party line." Its very existence takes the form, in large part, of a long discourse between man and man and between God and man. The maintenance of that tradition requires a continuation of discourse, pursued with respect for the accumulated wisdom of the past and with responsibility toward the dictates of reason. Such discourse strives toward Truth with the humility to realize that while Truth is objective and eternal, the quest for it by man's finite understanding is unending; that while Truth is not available anew to each generation and each man, independent of the support of tradition, neither has it been at some point in the past given once and for all, so that there is nothing left to do but pass it on from generation to generation.

Thus, as we approach the one-hundredth anniversary of the publication of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty,* I would maintain against the view of Russell Kirk (NATIONAL REVIEW, January 25) that the aspect of the nineteenth century which that book reflects — its character as an Age of Discussion and its love of liberty — is the respect in which it is most glorious and most resembles such high points in man's strivings as fifth-century Athens and thirteenth-century Christendom. This is not to defend the materialism and scientism of the nineteenth century, any more than to salute John Stuart Mill's defense of liberty is to overlook the confusion and errors of his philosophical position. But it seems to me that Mr. Kirk attacks both Mill and the Victorian Age for those qualities from which we have the most to learn and which, despite all the shortcomings of the man and the age, we must cherish against the blank conformity and power idolatry of our day. Likewise, from Mill's antagonist, the complex James Fitzjames Stephen, he appears to select for praise those ideas which Stephen's imagination drew from the Romantic pagan-Teutonic *mystique* of folk, community, force and power. All too familiar, they presage the nightmares of the twentieth century, with which the nineteenth century was so sadly pregnant.

Both Mill and Stephen were nurtured in the bosom of utilitarianism, a position not only philosophically unsound, but historically disastrous in its effects; nor did either of them ever free himself from its influences. Nothing in the writings of Bentham or either of the Mills, it seems to me, is any more blatantly utilitarian than Stephen's discussion of liberty, which Mr. Kirk adduces in condemnation of Mill:

> To me the question whether liberty is a good or a bad thing appears as irrational as the question whether fire is a good or a bad thing? It is both good and bad according to time, place, and circumstance . . .

Mr. Kirk himself, after all, calls liberty "the quality which, after divine grace and right reason, lifts man above the brutes." Surely, such a quality cannot be considered "both good and bad, according to time, place, and circumstance." And if it might seem that I am drawing a strained implication from Stephen's words, to confirm its cogency it is only necessary to dip at random into his answer to Mill's essay, his *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,* an essay that glorifies force and power against reason and moral truth. The most fundamental questions of right and truth are reduced to a calculus of power:

> Is there or not a God and a future state? . . . the attitude of the law and of public authority generally towards the discussion of this question will and *ought to* depend upon the nature of the view which happens to be dominant for the time being on the question itself . . . [my emphasis]

## *Despite Utilitarianism*

Granted that the foundations of Mill's position are no less utilitarian than Stephen's. Granted that with him, as with Stephen, morality is equated with utility until, strictly considered, the very possibility of standards by which experience is to be judged and conduct inspired is swept away. Granted, in short, that for many of the most powerful minds and spirits of the mid-nineteenth century, the tradition of the West lay in a pile of shattered debris. The fact remains that John Stuart Mill was one of the first to challenge the impending results of the tidal wave that had been set in motion; to struggle mightily, in his own way, as R. P. Anschutz has shown in *The Philosophy of John Stuart Mill,* with the doctrines in which he had been raised. It is true that he never succeeded in breaking loose from that barren system; but in vindicating the individual person as the measure of value over against the collective instrumentalities of state and society, and in demanding that the worth of a society should be judged by the degree to which it makes possible the freedom of the individual, he vindicated the first principle of morality (for no man can act morally unless he is free to choose good from evil). He posited against the state centralism that was developing along with unrestricted and total democracy, the fundamental social and political derivative of the natural law: the inalienable rights of the individual.

His fault is not in his conclusions, but in his mode of arriving at them. He did not understand the source of man's rights in the realm of value be-



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yond history. A fundamental philosophical error, which is the essential error of utilitarianism, of positivism, of all monism, vitiates his thought: the confusion of fact and value, the erection of man's history into a standard by which that history is to be judged. As Eric Voegelin in *The New Science of Politics* and Percy of Newcastle in *The Heresy of Democracy* have both in their different ways so cogently demonstrated, this is an error which has possessed a large section of Western thought — theist as well as atheist, conservative as well as radical — to the great detriment of the wisdom and peace of our civilization. To be sure, it has been possible, as we have seen over and over again, for noble minds to cling to false systems and to make nevertheless substantial intellectual contributions. Men — even philosophers — do not always think with logical rigor. More streams than one enter their consciousness and help to form their product. Edmund Burke, for example, whose thinking was corrupted through and through with this historicist, expediential outlook (one which, as Richard Weaver has demonstrated, showed through his very rhetoric), played a glorious role during one of the greatest crises in the history of the West.

## *Might or Right?*

To attack Mill for his philosophical errors, even to stress the decisive effect which in his case those errors had at an important moment in the development of thought, is legitimate enough, and in fact of great value in clarifying some of the most confused issues of the day. To condemn him, however, not as having unsound foundations for his defense of liberty, but for that defense itself; to champion against him an antagonist as unsound as Mill philosophically, as utilitarian as Mill himself, one who can be caught blatantly attacking the ideal of the freedom of the person through glorification of the sword; to hold that the triumph of the mailed tyrannies of the twentieth century "refutes" and "dates" Mill's ringing vindication of liberty; this, it seems to me, is to put forward the claims of power over spirit, blind force over right reason, matter over man, what is over what ought to be.

The basis of Mill's defense of the liberty of the individual is unsound not because the liberty of the individual is anything less than the first (although not the only) political principle of a good society, and certainly not because the victory of totalitarianism and welfarism in the twentieth century makes liberty an "outdated" ideal; it is unsound because the grounds of his defense, far from being too absolute, are not absolute enough, and, secondarily, because of the unclarity of his concept of society, and his tendency to equate society with the state.

I am myself prepared to defend a position more absolute than Mill's, because I assert the right of individual freedom not on the grounds of utility but on the grounds of the very nature of man and the nature of the drama of his existence. He lives between good and evil, beauty and ugliness, truth and error, and he fulfills his destiny in the choices he makes. No social institution, not even the conglomerate of such institutions we call for convenience "society" can make the least one of these choices. In that sense they are neither free nor unfree. Only the individual person, whose fate it is to choose, can be free, for freedom is no more nor less than the possibility — and responsibility — to choose. Freedom is the essence of the being of man, and since all social institutions are subordinate to men, the virtue of political and social institutions should be judged by the degree to which they expand or contract the area of freedom. Force, which Mr. Kirk, with Stephen, seems to regard as the great mover of history that confounds reasonable discussion and refutes the ideal of liberty, surely has no moral character of its own. It is controlled by men, for evil or for good; and the ideal of the utmost liberty for each individual man to make his choice is the end to which force should be directed. It is in this sense that Mill's championship of the individual against the state and society must, I believe, be accepted as an important part of our heritage.

## *Conservatism and Liberty*

The only alternative to the moral rule of liberty of the individual is to enthrone the sad tendency of human history as right, to glorify with James Stephen "the man of genius who rules by persuading an efficient minority to coerce an indifferent and self-indulgent majority . . ." The use of force against those who propound error is wrong, not because it is inexpedient but because it is an outrage upon the freedom of man and, in that, upon the very nature of man. Liberty is the political end of man's existence because liberty is the condition of his being. It is for this reason that conservatism, which in preserving the tradition preserves this truth, is only constant to itself when it is libertarian.

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THE IVORY TOWER

*(Continued from p. 22)*

"As a generalization, communism favors the laborer, fascism the upper class, socialism the lower-middle class, and capitalism the upper-middle class." (pp. 133, 134)

The answers to the above are True, False, and True.

Some general discussion questions under the same topic:

"Secure a Socialist Party platform of 20 to 35 years ago and figure the percentage of 'planks' in it which have been enacted by nonsocialist congresses."

"Make a report on Arnold's *The Folklore of Capitalism,* which"—brace yourself!—"is an *insightful* description of the place of custom in the operation of capitalism."

"Look up the exact provisions of our graduated income and inheritance taxes, and explain them to the class. What is the philosophy behind such taxes?"

"Write a short paper or report to the class on the concentration of wealth in the United States."

Finally: "Interview a local union official on the role of the union in modern economic life." (p. 136)

Question time: "The growing powers and functions of government primarily represent successful attempts of bureaucrats to get more jobs and more power." False, of course.

"Give two actual examples of pressure groups." Answer: "NAM, Legion, etc."

**Our own test question** for today: True or False?—Messrs. Burma and DePoister's *Workbook in Introductory Sociology* is a venture in Liberal indoctrination.

(Write in for the correct answer.)



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# BOOKS IN REVIEW

## Socialist Saint

REVILO OLIVER

It's a pity that the forty-seven volumes of Saint-Simon's collected works are seldom taken from the shelves these days, for our Liberal friends would find it interesting and profitable to open the oyster from which came so many of the pearls of wisdom that they now wear with pride.

Everyone knows, of course, that Saint-Simon invented plebiscites and the Wilsonian doctrine of the "self-determination of peoples." He denounced colonialism, and thought that prosperous nations should provide the technological and financial assistance necessary to industrialize the whole world. He was a vociferous apostle of a United Nations that would infallibly prevent war and insure "world cooperation." It was he who discovered how easy it is to abolish poverty everywhere by applying science to the twin problems of raising everyone's standard of living and of organizing mankind. He was, furthermore, sentimental about "the workers," and he devised the now popular "New Christianity" in which religion is replaced by a blind faith in the miracles to be wrought by Progress.

It is true that Saint-Simon was partially eclipsed by his successor, Marx, who took from him the notion that society belongs to the "producers," but it is none the less remarkable that the founder of both socialism and sociology is revered rather than read. When they see the forty-seven tomes on the shelves, Liberals hastily genuflect and pass on—perhaps because they instinctively dread a discovery that modern warfare became so destructive that the world was left with no alternative to peace in 1814, or that the "producers" to whom society belongs by natural right were for many years the capitalists from whom Saint-Simon was soliciting contributions.

Whether or not they leave the dust unstirred on Saint-Simon's voluminous lucubrations, the Liberals have at last been given an opportunity to contemplate a full-length portrait of their spiritual sire (*The French Faust, Henri de Saint-Simon,* by Mathurin Dondo, Philosophical Library, $3.75). Professor Dondo has written the first complete and accurate account of Saint-Simon's life and character, utilizing a large number of letters and documents hitherto unknown or neglected. It is now possible to see clearly what manner of man he was.

He was, to put it briefly, a liar who cannot be trusted to report veraciously the simplest details of his own life. He lived under every government in France from the *ancien régime* to the Restoration, and, more agile in conscience than the Vicar of Bray, he promptly discovered that each new government was the realization of his long-cherished ideals. He was a conceited *hallucinê* who enjoyed conversations with his ancestor, Charlemagne, who obligingly assured him that he was destined to be the great philosopher of the modern world. He was a *débauché* who made his vices odious by pretending that his sensuality was a high-minded urge to apply the empirical methods of science to human relationships. He was a scoundrel who attempted to blackmail even the wife of a benefactor from whom he was receiving an annual subsidy. He had, in short, a highly developed social consciousness.

You must not infer, however, that Professor Dondo is a hostile biographer. Far from it. He believes that Saint-Simon was sincere—at least in the last years of his life when his mind became so incoherent and spasmodic in its operations that his secretaries (including Auguste Comte) had to write his works for him. We are therefore invited to admire a man "far ahead of his time" who valiantly "held up a torch to guide humanity."

Professor Dondo is a scholar—an eminent scholar. He has reported carefully and honestly the results of his extensive research in the archives and libraries of France. He has not permitted his sentiments to suppress or distort the evidence. That is an admirable achievement in any age, a rare distinction in our own. But when he turns from facts to values, he succumbs to the contagion of contemporary Liberalism.

Here is a passage which is really an epitome of the entire book:

> Saint-Simon, profligate, impulsive, irrational, a plaything of his sensuous whims, victim of his delusions . . . belonged to the class of eccentric, unbalanced, unstable individuals from whom are recruited poets, reformers, founders of religion. The world entrusts its safety to [practical men], but its salvation comes from the Saint-Simons.

Salvation, in other words, comes from whims, irrationality, and delusions. Clearly, then, ethical responsibility, reason, and respect for reality are but the trammels of earthbound and unenlightened mortals; a man who has contracted the sanctifying itch to save the world is above such petty things.

On this premise, of course, delusions are incontrovertible proof of spiritual greatness. If you can believe in so shabby a sham as the United Nations, you show that the strength and purity of your noble aversion to war enables you to soar above banal and obvious realities. If the most cogent evidence shows that some oaf was a Communist, you must swear that he was innocent: are not all things lawful to the pure in heart who snivel about social injustice? If a



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feckless egomaniac has, in all probability, doomed your nation to a long and desperate war, you must worship him as a Great Soul—for what are the lives and fortunes of your countrymen that they should be balanced against the sacred whims of a world-saver? And if it is absolutely certain that a self-appointed expert on the Orient was either a traitor or an irresponsible fool who couldn't tell the difference between a Chinese agrarian and a Russian agent, insist that he is both a patriot and a sage. The more irrational you can become, the more supernal your virtue.

By exposing so nakedly its latent premise, Professor Dondo will elucidate for many of his readers one of the mysteries of Liberalism. But I am not sure that the more sanctimonious brethren will thank him.

# Lovingly Well-Made Novel

**The Malefactors,** by Caroline Gordon. 312 pp. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.95

The very morning I sat down to write this review, the front page of the *New York Times* carried a story about Miss Dorothy Day and the House of Hospitality she has maintained for years on Manhattan's lower East Side for anyone who is tired, or broken, or hungry, or in need of human warmth. Miss Day had been fined $250 because the New York Department of Housing and Buildings had declared her hostel a firetrap. On her way to court, she was approached by a stranger who said he had read about her trouble in the paper and offered her a check to help out. She thanked him, and hurried on. Not until she had boarded her subway did she notice that the check covered the entire amount of the fine, and was signed by one of the most honorable names in English poetry: W. H. Auden.

I mention this here because 1) it is a lovely story in itself and 2) unless I am presumptuously mistaken, Miss Day, as well as her hostelry and the Peter Maurin Farm with which she is associated, are the originals of some of the chief persons and places in Caroline Gordon's new novel. And I defend myself from any charge of indiscretion by adding that I believe Miss Gordon frankly intends her novel as a *roman à clef,* for I cannot otherwise see any point to the witty and affectionate clue (page 116) that will enable anyone familiar with contemporary American writing to identify her hero.

This hero, called Tom Claiborne, is a poet (and *not,* incidentally, Mr. Auden) who as a young man wrote brilliant lyrics and established himself a first-rate reputation. But time and environment can do strange things. In his mid-forties, Claiborne finds himself married to a wealthy lady who breeds bulls; living on her money in a Pennsylvania Dutch mansion; concealing in his heart a nightmare sense of anguish; and writing nothing at all.

The friends who come to his wife's autumn fete in honor of her prize bull are all cultivated, monied, well-meaning people. They read books and buy paintings and speak French. But they are all malefactors in this specific sense: their habits, assumptions, tastes, beliefs are related to nothing — to no faith or hope or charity that cannot be joked about, psychoanalyzed or "discussed reasonably." Their mores, as Miss Gordon's scalpel reveals them, are so bleak a travesty of anything organic that not even their most inane aspects — the lady anthropologist who teaches a marriage course at a chic girl's school — can seem funny. The whole show, from artificial insemination of cows to the cynicism of the psychiatrist who likes to be called the Buzzard, is gagging. No life — of the senses, the mind, or the spirit — can do anything but cramp and shrivel in such an ambiance.

Claiborne makes a desperate break. He runs off with his wife's cousin. He tries to edit a new magazine. He is tempted to suicide. And at this point, he encounters an old friend who has become a Roman Catholic and now runs a settlement house near the Bowery. The quiet authority of her fulfillment moves not only Claiborne but his estranged wife. As the novel ends, they withdraw to a cooperative farm where bums, alcoholics and down-and-outers rehabilitate themselves together without self-consciously fussing about "communal values," plant potatoes because they need the food and regard cows as a source of milk not blue ribbons. There is no easy resolution in sight, but something — however baffled and faint — has begun to quicken in Claiborne's soul.

This is, of course, an awkward subject to dramatize persuasively. In the first place, a true religious experience is perhaps the one subject the novelist is at a loss to treat. The man to whom it happens cannot be written *about.* He can only bear witness, personally; and even then, he will probably sound homely, banal and uninteresting.

In the second place, the very milieu Miss Gordon is indicating, the malefactors themselves, have already "taken up" religious conversion. Like being psychoanalyzed in the twenties, and joining the Communist Party in the thirties, it became a fad in the forties. The *Partisan Review* even ran a symposium a few years ago, called "Religion and the Intellectuals," in which a number of intelligent people approached the "phenomenon" as gravely and objectively as they might consider why commuters wear flannel suits.

Miss Gordon, not oblivious of these difficulties, handles them gracefully. Working on the master lathe perfected by Henry James and Ford Madox Ford, she has tooled a lovingly well-made novel (according to the blurb, her eighth). I remember she once declared that "the writing of fiction is almost too dangerous an occupation for a woman." I have never been sure just what she meant by this, though most of the books by her lady contemporaries make me think she is dead right. But her own novels are the most convincing arguments on the other side that I can think of in American writing today.

ROGER BECKET

# Flesh for a Skeleton

**Number: The Language of Science,** by Tobias Dantzig. 345 pp. New York: Doubleday Anchor Books. $.95

This book is written for the layman who has received limited mathematical training but is intellectually curious about the history and major concepts of mathematics. Professor



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Dantzig begins with the most primitive forms of counting and proceeds down to the deep waters of today, wherein mathematical theory is hardly distinguishable from philosophy or cosmology. It is not all easy reading, but anyone willing to peruse it with a degree of concentration will be amply rewarded.

His account is filled with facts that will interest and, some of them, amaze. It is interesting to learn, for example, that the decimal system traces back to man's original habit of counting on ten fingers. Although tradition is going to preserve the decimal base indefinitely, it is not the best one, mathematically speaking. "Almost any other base, with the possible exception of *nine*, would have done as well and probably better." It will come as news to many that one of the greatest achievements of the race was the invention of zero, or a symbol standing for an empty class. It marked a virtual revolution in mathematics, and made possible many operations which before were either extremely tedious or impossible altogether. Another discovery of tremendous consequence was the idea of infinity. The Greeks, according to Professor Dantzig, had a temperamental horror of infinity and of irrational numbers, and this paralyzed their mathematics at a certain point. But when the "dilemma of infinity," which was like a "legendary dragon guarding the entrance to the enchanted garden," was finally solved, the scope of mathematical theory was immensely increased.

Again the reader may be surprised, but the author should convince him, that the history of mathematics is "a profoundly human story." Hardly less than art theory, mathematical theory has had its schools and parties, its feuds, its causes célèbres, and its innovators who were resented. Consider what happened when Georg Cantor propounded his revolutionary "theory of aggregates."

> It was fortunate for Cantor that mature reflection had thoroughly steeled him to face the onslaught, because for many years to come he had to bear the struggle alone. And what a struggle! The history of mathematics has not recorded anything equal to it in fury. The stormy beginnings of the theory of aggregates show that even in such an abstract field as mathematics, human emotions cannot be altogether eliminated.

The book will certainly make clear how much mathematics has to contribute to liberal education. The author maintains that "our school curricula, by stripping mathematics of its cultural content and leaving a bare skeleton of technicalities, has repelled many a fine mind," and most readers are likely to agree.

RICHARD M. WEAVER

# Tribute to the Mavericks

**Profiles in Courage**, by John F. Kennedy. 266 pp. New York: Harper and Brothers. $3.50

The Democratic junior Senator from Massachusetts emphatically rejects in this book the view that Senators are elected "to serve mainly as a seismograph to record shifts in public opinion." He does so, he says, not because he lacks faith in the wisdom of the people, but because, like such Puritan statesmen as John Quincy Adams, he believes that man, "being made in the image of God, is equal to the demands of self-government."

"The people," he writes, "will not condemn those whose devotion to principle leads them to unpopular courses, but will reward courage, respect honor and ultimately recognize right . . . the continued political success of many of those who withstood the pressures of public opinion and the ultimate vindication of the rest, enables us to maintain our faith in the long-run judgment of the people."

Kennedy recognizes that men of courage and conviction are subjected to far greater pressures now than formerly, thanks to the tremendous power of modern mass communications and "the domination over public life of professional politicians and public relations men." He seems unaware, however, of the decline in public *mores* that has accompanied the advance of science and the decay of religion.

While paying tribute to men of courage in politics, Senator Kennedy points out that there are times when a legislator must "rise above his principles" because compromise is of the essence in the Republican form of government. Politicians, he writes, should not be scorned because they are:

> . . . engaged in the fine art of conciliating, balancing and interpreting the forces and factions of public opinion, an art essential to keeping our nation united and enabling our government to function. Their consciences may direct them from time to time to take a more rigid stand for principle, but their intellects tell them a fair or poor bill is better than no bill at all, and that only through the give and take of compromises will any bill receive the successive approval of the House, the Senate, the President and the nation.

To illustrate his belief that courage is "the most admirable of human virtues," and that "we should not judge a man's bravery under fire by examining the banner under which he fought," Senator Kennedy has dealt here with a wide variety of heroes. Part I is devoted to the career, principles and character of John Quincy Adams, and includes an illuminating introduction dealing with the period following the split in the Federalist Party and Thomas Jefferson's resignation from the Cabinet. Part II concerns the pre-Civil War period, when Clay, Calhoun and Webster, "the three most gifted parliamentary leaders in American history," endeavored to preserve the Union by compromise. The portrait of Daniel Webster, who by acting "not as a Massachusetts man but as an American" shared with Benton of Missouri and Houston of Texas "the humiliation of political downfall at the hands of the States they had loved and championed," is as interesting as it is moving and dramatic.

In our own generation Kennedy chooses George Norris and Robert Taft as the outstanding examples of men who in the choice between conscience and constituents chose principle instead of popularity. He describes them as: "Two men of integrity—both Republicans, both midwesterners, but wholly dissimilar in their political philosophies . . . expounders, each in his own way, of great constitutional doctrines [who brought] increased prestige and respect to the United States Senate." He points especially to George Norris' courageous attempt to halt America on the road to war in 1917, and to the vilification he suffered at the hands of the press and his colleagues.

Taft he praises, above all, for his October 1946 protest against the Nuremberg trials. Taft protested, he



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thinks, out of deep devotion to the Constitution as the foundation of the American system of law and justice, and a refusal to countenance its violation in Germany and Japan. Taft himself said:

> I question whether the hanging of those who, however despicable, were the leaders of the German people, will ever discourage the making of aggressive war, for no one makes aggressive war unless he expects to win. About this whole judgment there is the spirit of vengeance, and vengeance is seldom justice . . .
>
> In these trials we have accepted the Russian idea of the purpose of trials—government policy and not justice . . . By clothing policy in the forms of legal procedure, we may discredit the whole idea of justice in Europe for years to come. In the last analysis, even at the end of a frightful war, we should view the future with more hope if even our enemies believed that we had treated them justly in our English-speaking concept of law, in the provision of relief and in the final disposal of territory.

How right he was in opposing our "woe to the vanquished" policy has been shown by the whole course of postwar history. FREDA UTLEY

# Animals Are More Fun

**The Patent Leather Thumping Shoes,** by Lucille Hooper. Illustrated by Ernest Norling. 220 pp. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. $3.50

Probably for the first time in their underprivileged little lives, some lucky children are now going to have the opportunity to read a book of absolutely no social significance. Mrs. Lucille Hooper, a Washington State school teacher without a message, has written a book which concerns itself not with international cooperation, not with religious tolerance, and not even with the all-too-seldom understood intricacies of the concrete mixer. It concerns itself with telling a story for children—a tale which, from beginning to end, is enthrallingly, enchantingly, impossibly Not True.

When that unspeakable cad, the cowardly Cadwallader, steals little Kipalee's patent leather thumping shoes (for thumping), Kip and his friend, big Joe Shuffletoe, without a backward glance set out on a pursuit that lasts the whole of a dreamlike sunny summer—or, generally speaking, any summer before anybody's tenth birthday. When the two friends are tired and hot and dusty, they find themselves, naturally, on the threshold of Grandmother Bustle's Twispatell Camp, set on a "blue and sparkling lake" surrounded by "tiny houses painted white and blue and red and yellow." Rainy days bring them to Paddy Odeeno's bee farm and (what else *is* there on rainy days?) to songs and games and popcorn around a crackling log fire. Grandmother Bustle joins the chase, and also Captain Windjammer, the dashing ex-pirate who runs a ferry. Old Scalawag Cadwallader stays tantalizingly just over the crest of the next hill, leaving behind him a trail of impertinent wickedness and wicked impertinence; but, though the righteous indignation of the good guys remains high, it is never too high to allow for a day's fishing or square-dancing or DDT-ing potato bugs from an old biplane. The end of the chase engenders an end to the story which is so completely and superlatively and satisfyingly happy that—well, it should happen to me.

Two criticisms from Jim, Pam, John and Priscilla, who read this story with me. John and Priscilla, who are under seven and ferocious, were appalled at the perfidy of the caddish Cadwallader, who reformed so wholeheartedly and so prematurely that it became impossible for the good guys to do other than forgive him. Jim and Pam, who are over eight and romantic, had been expecting a wedding between Grandmother Bustle and Captain Windjammer for over 100 pages when the story ended without even the plighting of a troth. The fact that she was a cow and he was a cougar would, they say (and I agree), have made the potential issue of such a union a matter of endlessly fascinating conjecture.

Let no reactionary parent fear that Joe's being a bear and Cadwallader a coyote, Kipalee a young rabbit and Grandmother Bustle a cow lady (not only by definition but by character) are turned to advantage for sugared instruction in natural history. The story, the wonderful, silly story, could have been the same if the animals had been people. No, not quite the same. Mrs. Hooper knows, as do children, that animals are more fun.

ALOISE HEATH

# Congress at War

**Congressional Politics in the Second World War,** by Roland Young. 281 pp. New York: Columbia University Press. $4.50

This is a careful, discerning and good-natured book. Professor Young not only knows Congress well, which is unusual, but seems rather to like it, which is unheard of. He has written an orderly, straightforward account of what Congress did, of the function of Congress, during World War Two. He does not shrink from an occasional adverb of praise or blame; but most of the time he sticks to what happened and the reasons therefor.

It will be a surprise to many to learn that Congress had any function, or did anything, in the second World War. Certainly they will not have read anything to that effect in the hundreds of books on the war that have been published prior to this one. Professor Young, indeed, comments on this: "It was widely believed that Congress need not, or should not, play a very important role in fighting a war." However, "once war came, Congress quickly adjusted itself to the conditions of war, and it was by no means the anachronism which many —including some of its own members —predicted it would be . . . Issues were raised which needed to be resolved politically"; and in the American system, to which Professor Young gives reasoned allegiance, Congress is the prime institution for the political resolution of issues: for "adjusting competitive wants" and making decisions "on organizing the energies of the nation and allocating men, money, and material among competitive claimants."

These were years of continuous constitutional crisis, with all power tending, under war conditions, to shift more rapidly than ever to the Executive. But Congress was aware of the process, and "made serious attempts to retain and assert its authority." On domestic problems, both social and economic, Congress retained at least some share in the making of decisions. Congressional action noticeably modified government policies on taxation, prices, labor and profits. On military, military-political and international problems, Executive


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usurpation combined with congressional abdication to reduce Congress more or less to the role of a stand-in. "Members of Congress had no more intimate knowledge of how the war was going than the average reader of a metropolitan newspaper."

Under the Constitution the President is Commander-in-Chief, so that it is proper as well as natural that Congress should be subordinate in the conduct of war in the strictly military sense. But in World War Two Congress was excluded also, on the whole, from the related political developments (coming to a periodic head at the great military-political conferences as at Casablanca, Quebec, Teheran and Yalta) and the international political maneuvers that were setting the afterwar stage. It must unfortunately be granted that, by Professor Young's account, Congress did not press effectively its claim (and duty) to share in these concerns; nor did Congress in those years show any special prescience when occasionally confronting such issues of postwar contention as China, Tito and the United Nations. J.B.

## Scant Comfort

**Great Enterprise: Growth and Behavior of the Big Corporation,** by Herrymon Maurer. 303 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. $5.00

Mr. Maurer has provided, for anyone who may need it, a convenient refutation of most of the absurdities uttered by Liberal propagandists on the subject of large corporations. In the end, however, he gives scant comfort to defenders of capitalism. Big corporations, he claims, are "the most potent and pervasive method of social organization since ancient times"; but his somewhat vague and inconsistent comments give me the impression that he foresees a future in which corporations will produce for the sake of producing, becoming vast anthills filled with scurrying creatures actuated by "group-mindedness." The owners will evidently have a function analogous to that of the vermiform appendix in the human body. And they will inevitably attract the attention of enterprising social surgeons. R.P.O.

## Whoppers on Spooks

**Ghosts in American Houses,** by James Reynolds. 229 pp. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $12.50

The author of this handsome book has yet to learn that when we write a tale of the supernatural, we must avoid unnecessary strain on the reader's credulity. When the ghost comes, we must, of course, ask the reader to believe; but why, through sheer carelessness, also ask him to believe that the followers of William Penn were Puritans, or that slaves were owned and whipped in Mississippi in 1879? Despite such slips and a few malapropisms, these thirty-two stories, which deal much more with the horrors of life than with the mysteries of death, are told effectively, and many of them, although they fall short of literary distinction, are truly moving. Mr. Reynold's impressionistic paintings are decorative. R.P.O.

## Misplaced City

**Bartlett's Familiar Quotations,** by John Bartlett. 1614 pp. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. $10.00

The question is not whether you should have a Bartlett (how could you get along without one?) but whether you should trade in your old model for this centennial edition. My answer, after comparing this thirteenth edition with my eleventh (1937), is No. For one thing, mine has a memorable preface by Christopher Morley; the new one does not. Mine has such things as the unforgettable century-old line by a forgotten poet, "A rose red city half as old as time"; the new discards that in favor of such stuff as a sentence from Justice Youngdahl's ruling in the Lattimore case.

Many entries are unchanged since 1937. Aldous Huxley, for instance, has done some of his most brilliant work since then, but of the recent writing only one sentence is included. The most quotable churchman of modern times, the late Dean Inge, makes the new edition with a witticism uttered in 1921. A venerable pulpiteer gets into the book on the strength of a silly remark made twenty years ago. The Danish thinker, Kierkegaard, was unheard of twenty years ago, but meanwhile he has sired half a dozen schools of thought. He is not mentioned. A Herman Melville cult has sprung up since the eleventh edition was published, but there is hardly a reflection of this in the space allotted him in the thirteenth.

But these are quibbles about the personal taste of the editors. The main thing is to salute this new appearance of what seems to be an imperishable and indispensable item on the American literary scene. EDMUND A. OPITZ

## American Tragedy

**The Stature of Theodore Dreiser: A Critical Survey of the Man and His Work,** edited by Alfred Kazin and Charles Shapiro. 303 pp. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press. $5.00

The thirty-four reviews, memoirs and critical essays in this volume provide a conspectus of opinion concerning the novelist who, although ill educated, intellectually undisciplined, and without taste, dominated with his brutal vigor the strange literary world of the 1920's. Although even the major works of that febrile and strident age have already lapsed into desuetude, it is refreshing to turn back to them occasionally, for their authors, however deficient, were at least individualists who thought for themselves, so that they seem giants when compared to their epigoni, the bloodless little men of the present who timorously walk the Liberal Line with a passion for nothing except absolute conformity.

R. P. O.


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# To the Editor

### *Praise for Mr. Bozell*

. . . In my opinion Mr. Bozell is the best writer in your stable. He's worth the price of admission all by himself. He is one of the most thoughtful and articulate observers of the Washington scene now writing for the American press. The same cannot be said for all of your authors, however. Some of the pieces (the one about Lattimore in Hartford, for example) are so laden with sarcasm that they are downright silly.

*Cambridge, Mass.* RICHARD SCHUMACHER

### *Vice President Nixon*

. . . It will be an outrage if Nixon is "dumped" after his faithful, able and energetic cooperation with Eisenhower. He is in fact abler and more experienced than Eisenhower, and is a Republican, which Eisenhower is not. . . . If Nixon is "dumped" I will vote the other way for the first time in a long life.

*Philadelphia, Pa.* HORACE LIPPINCOTT

### *"Spring of Reason"*

Please rename your magazine THE WEEKLY OASIS, for it surely is one, a blue-bordered haven in the desert of slanted news, a clear cool spring of reason among the shifting sands of Wechsler, Cattledge, Friendly, et al.

*New York City* RICHARD FERGUSON

### *"Constitutional Illiterates"*

I have just read the article "Congress Faces Electoral Reform" by Lucius Wilmerding, Jr. [March 7]. I kept looking for a recommendation to stop subverting the constitutional prescription for electing Presidents until an amendment should be adopted.

. . . The great trouble today is the plethora of advocates of constitutional amendments who are devoid of understanding of the U.S. Constitution and therefore qualify as constitutional illiterates.

. . . Mr. Wilmerding says: "the President should be in fact, as he is in theory, the choice of the people. . . ." Where the mass of people have a direct choice they always wind up with a king or a dictator. That is why our forefathers set up a representative system. They removed the election of a Chief Executive from the influence of mob emotions. . . .

Before we clamor for changing the Constitution let us first understand what the Constitution means.

*San Antonio, Tex.* PHILIP LEE EUBANK
Chairman, Constitution Party

### *Mr. Eastman's Confession*

Try as I may, I fail to find a good editorial reason for playing up, amid so much excellent stuff, . . . a rehash of [Max Eastman's] confession of lifelong mistakes [February 22]. . . . Everybody who has the slightest interest in the world-shattering event has long since been notified and these are a very small per cent of the entire public which cares not a whit about Mr. Eastman's writhings one way or the other. . . .

[Although] he was took . . . throughout the most of his long life of academic meandering . . . . he has come almost to praising himself with faint damns. . . .

*Washington, D.C.* ELLIS O. JONES

Max Eastman, in "I Acknowledge My Mistakes" brings clearly into focus what happened and what is happening. . . However, what are we going to do about this socialist revolution?

Counter-revolutionists for the freedom of the people . . . never won anything by depending on the government. . . . We, the people, are the ones that are going to fight this counter revolution, not the government. The government today, our government, is one of the socialist bureaucracies that [we] are going to have to fight. . . .

PHILIP E. O'CONNELL
*South Weymouth, Mass*

### *Do Postmen Read?*

I get your intellectually delightful . . . weekly journal of conservative opinion, each week a different day in the week, but maybe that means that the postmen along the way are reading it. I hope so. . . .

*Sedalia, Mo.* MARY HELEN MAYER

### *Genuine Conservatism*

I believe that there is an underlying dormant conservatism—as Burke defined it—in this country. At present, it has no effective political agency by which to express itself. I think its sound doctrines must be retaught and driven home to the end that persons may be encouraged to proclaim their attachment to genuine conservatism —without apologies or qualifying adjectives.

*Pass-A-Grille, Fla.* S. J. KORNHAUSER

### *Can We Buy Friends?*

The article "Eurafrica or Africasia?" by J. Dervin [February 29] is far below the caliber of articles which I had expected NATIONAL REVIEW would adhere to. The author . . . should read Mr. Eugene Castle's *Billions, Blunders and Baloney,* which exposes the fallacy that we can buy friends.

*Townson, Md.* JULIAN E. WILLIAMS

### *More Barron, Evans, Caldwell*

Let's hear again from Bryton Barron and Medford Evans and John Caldwell—an old friend who is always so welcome!

*Kokomo, Ind.* DR. F. L. MORRISON

### *Mr. Crumpet's Style*

I find that the mental jigsaw puzzle which arrives at my front door *irregularly* first irritates and then enrages me to the point of near lunacy.

However, in recent weeks, there has been a gleam of hope. I refer to the two brilliant articles on Kefauver by Peter Crumpet [February 29 and March 7]. Crumpet writes clearly and simply. His style is trenchant. He says what he wants to say with a minimum of words.

*Chicago, Ill.* MYRA T. WESSELS

### *The Oppenheimer Appointment*

I . . . wish to express my appreciation of your support of my stand in contesting the Oppenheimer appointment at Harvard ["The Ivory Tower," February 22]. . . .

Is it not characteristic of Liberal college professors to indulge in a personal attack when they find it difficult to uphold their side of an argument? The three Harvard professors you mentioned seem to be attempting to turn their Ivory Tower into a "whitewashed sepulchre."

*Boston, Mass.* EDWIN GINN



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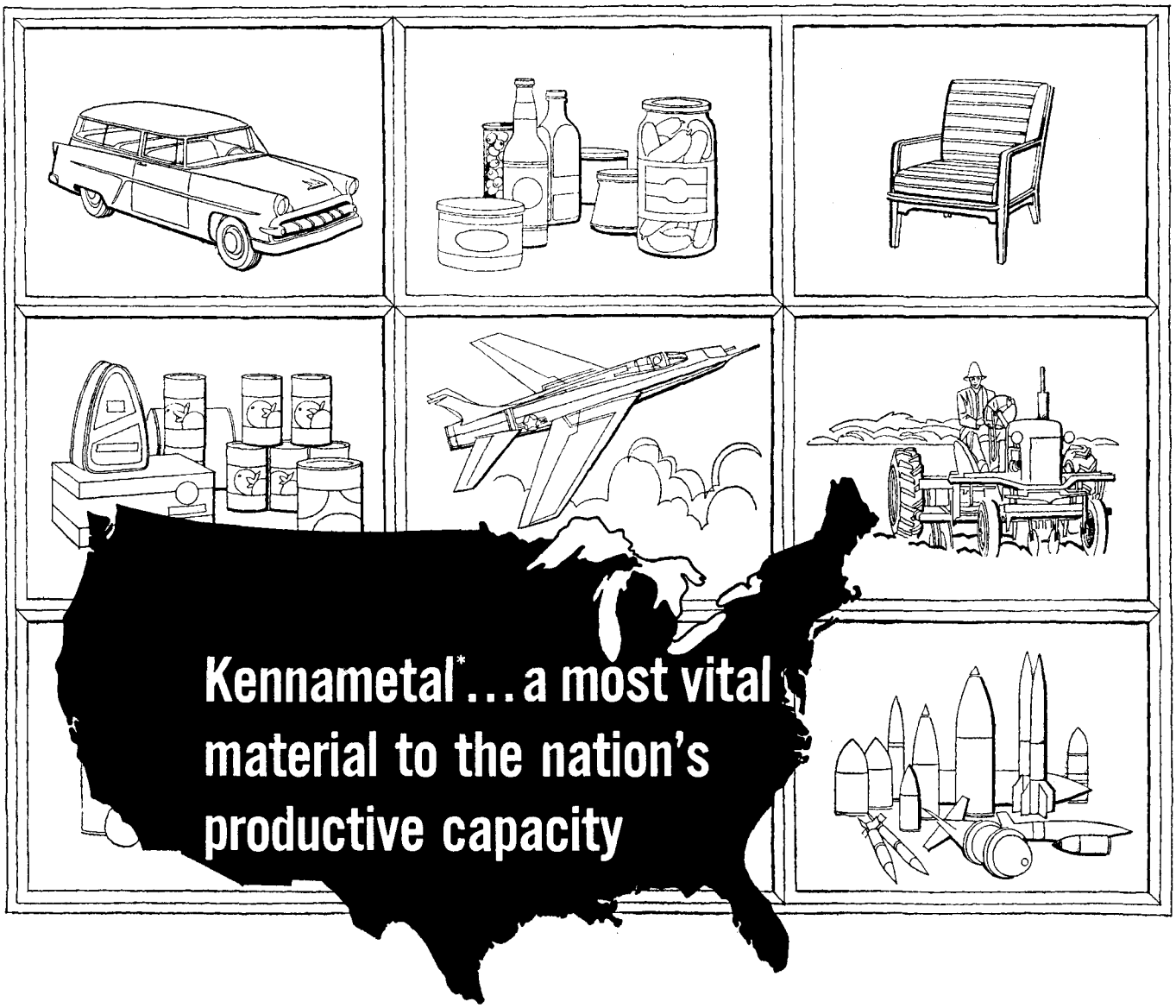


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# *Notice to Contestants*

## NOW IS THE TIME

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Entry blank A-4, which appears below, completes the "A" series. Fill out blanks A-1, A-2, A-3 and A-4 and send in all four at one time, in one envelope.

***Important Note: "A" series blanks must be postmarked on or before April 15, 1956. No entry postmarked later can be considered.***

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I predict that the number of first ballot votes for the Presidential nominee at the 1956 Democratic Convention will be:

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My Name

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Address

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City Zone State

(The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW request the following information, which is not, however, an entry requirement for the contest.)

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## *Contest Rules*

1. Any resident of the United States above eighteen years of age may enter (except employees of NATIONAL REVIEW and their families).
2. To enter the contest, each contestant must fill out four official entry blanks (or facsimiles) with predictions as follows:
   a) The 1956 Republican nominees for President and Vice President
   b) The 1956 Democratic nominees for President and Vice President
   c) The number of first ballot votes for the Republican Presidential nominee
   d) The number of first ballot votes for the Democratic Presidential nominee
3. Beginning with the March 7 issue, NATIONAL REVIEW is publishing one entry blank each week for twenty successive weeks. These blanks will be numbered as follows: A1, A2, A3, A4; B1, B2, B3, B4; C1, C2, C3, C4; D1, D2, D3, D4; E1, E2, E3, E4.
4. Each contestant must fill out the four complete blanks of one set (i.e., the "A" set, "B" set, etc.), and must send in all four at one time, in one envelope. Each contestant may send in one entry of each set — five possible entries in all. (It is not necessary to buy NATIONAL REVIEW in order to enter. You may apply for entry blanks at NATIONAL REVIEW's office at 211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.; but, to facilitate handling, only one blank can be supplied on each application.)
5. The contest will close on August 1, 1956. All entries must be postmarked not later than 11 P.M. on that date. Winners will be notified on or before September 15, 1956.
6. All entries must be addressed to: "Pick the Candidates!" Room 202, 211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.
7. The standing of the contestants will be determined by the number of candidates correctly named, with ties decided by the relative accuracy of the first ballot estimates. If ties still remain, tie-breaking questions will be assigned.
8. The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW will act as judges. Their decision on all matters will be final.
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